# Daily Report

# Latin America

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# Daily Report
Latin America

*FBIS-LAT-96-040* *28 February 1996*

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**Inter-American Affairs: C.A. Presidents on Christopher**

*PA2802035696 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 27 Feb 96 p 2*

[Report by editors of EL DIARIO DE HOY]

[FBIS Translated Text] The U.S. Government promised Central American countries to continue seeking a solution to illegal immigration, promote parity under the NAFTA, and strengthen cooperation in the struggle against drug trafficking and organized crime in the region.

This was drawn from the meeting that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher held with Central American presidents yesterday in San Salvador.

Jose Maria Figueres, Carlos Reina, and Armando Calderon Sol, Costa Rican, Honduran, and Salvadoran presidents, respectively, attended the meeting. Belizean Prime Minister Manuel Esquivel and Nicaraguan Vice President Julia Mena were also present.

Alvaro Arzu, Violeta Chamorro, and Ernesto Perez Balladares, Guatemalan, Nicaraguan, and Panamanian presidents respectively, were not able to attend the meeting, due to previously acquired commitments.

The United States announced a $25 million aid package to Central America to solve environmental problems; and made a donation of $10 million to El Salvador to end several pending peace accords.

**Illegal Aliens**

The presidents told Christopher about their concern over the growing anti-immigration feeling among Americans and asked that the illegal aliens be taken into account, understanding they represent great help to the economy of their countries.

Christopher assured President Armando Calderon Sol that there would be no massive deportations of Salvadorans, who live as illegal aliens in the United States. On the contrary, they will "have the opportunity" to have legal protection before U.S. immigration authorities.

**Free Trade**

The Central American presidents asked Christopher that the United States grant the countries of the region the same treatment as Mexico obtained under NAFTA, as they believe these countries' economic situation is in disadvantage and need more job promotion.

Christopher responded that he would present this request to his government. Furthermore, a proposal to extend the list of products that receive preferential treatment will be presented before Congress to facilitate the transition to free trade. The list includes manufactured products, textiles, and shoes.

**Organized Crime**

Christopher promised assistance in the struggle against drug trafficking and organized crime in the region, as well as to strengthen police forces.

"The United States will strengthen cooperation in the struggle against delinquency and drug trafficking with countries in the region. We are taking concrete measures and will send specialized equipment," shortly.

**Comments**

President Armando Calderon Sol called the meeting with Christopher "very important" and thanked him for beginning his Latin American tour in El Salvador, and thus, in Central America.

President Carlos Reina, on the other hand, said upon his return to Tegucigalpa that the meeting had been "fruitful" adding Central America expects to receive the same treatment Mexico has under NAFTA, which is promoted by Mexico, Canada and the United States.

"It was a positive meeting," said Costa Rican President Jose Maria Figueres.

"I believe the proposal (made by President Clinton on the NAFTA) will be passed quickly or slowly, depending on the internal policies of the U.S. Congress, but I feel that our efforts with the senators and congressmen could yield positive results," Figueres noted.

**Inter-American Affairs: Salvaroran Head Condemns Cuba**

*PA2702194396 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1257 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] San Salvador, 27 Feb (ACAN-EFE) — The crisis between Washington and Havana over the downing of two civilian planes by Cuban fighters has displaced the commercial and cooperation matters that should have been the focus of a meeting between U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Central American presidents.

Christopher, who started his first tour of the American continent in San Salvador, asked Central America to cooperate so that the democracy established in the region can be extended to Cuba. The area presidents fully supported the U.S. Government measures on this new crisis.

Salvadoran President Armando Calderon Sol reported on the presidents' private meeting with Christopher. In a news conference, Calderon condemned Cuba's

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actions and applauded the fact that the United States took the matter to the United Nations, thus appealing to international law.

Christopher pointed out that Cuba's actions are "unjustifiable" and did not rule out U.S. military intervention against the island in the future should a similar incident take place again.

Christopher said that the measures adopted by President Bill Clinton, such as suspending commercial flights between the two countries, are firm and consistent with a superpower's responsibility in a case like this.

The U.S. Government has given Central America $25 million to correct environment protection problems and $10 million to El Salvador for implementing some pending peace agreements, including the legal transfer of landownership rights to former Army combatants and guerrillas.

In a speech at the Legislative Assembly, Christopher applauded the progress of the Salvadoran peace process and democracy and also said that his country will continue to offer aid to El Salvador, because the work has not yet been completed and the Salvadoran people deserve it for their effort.

He announced that Clinton will present to the Congress in March, together with the country's budget, a bill to give Central American countries a treatment equal to that of Mexico in the framework of NAFTA.

The region's governments and productive sectors demand this equal treatment arguing that their investments have been affected and that they need to create more jobs. In addition, they want an easier incorporation into the free market, which is to be established in the continent by the year 2005.

Calderon reported that the presidents presented to Christopher the situation of thousands of illegal Central Americans in the United States. He said there will be no mass deportations.

The fight against organized crime and drug trafficking were also matters in which Christopher committed U.S. aid for Central America, where police organizations require more training and it is now possible to create new regional centers for this purpose.

Costa Rican President Jose Maria Figueres said the appointment of General Barry McCaffrey, Chief of the U.S. Southern Command headquartered in Panama, as the topmost leader of the U.S. counterdrug policy, will facilitate a unified struggle in this field in the region.

Honduran President Carlos Roberto Reina, Belizean Prime Minister Manuel Esquivel, and Nicaraguan Vice President Julia Mena, in addition to Calderon and Figueres, also participated in the meeting with Christopher.

Guatemalan President Alvaro Arzu, Nicaraguan President Violeta Chamorro, and Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares were unable to attend the meeting due to previous commitments.

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## Cuba

### Cuba: Robaina Departs From Denmark, To Head For UN

*PA2702212796 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 26 Feb 96*

[From the "National Radio News" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina departed today from Denmark to head for the UN headquarters to protest before the world's highest forum the campaign of U.S.-instigated defamation against his country.

Robaina, who made a stopover at Madrid's airport, said that he was traveling with the truth that the United States has not wanted to hear during more than 35 years. I have with me a long, sad, and shameful list of actions carried out by or under the protection and complicity of the United States, to violate my country's integrity and territorial sovereignty, the Cuban foreign relations minister said.

Robaina insisted that he had to explain before the United Nations that Cuba has put up with more than 20 incursions to its jurisdictional limits during the past nine months, and the world should know about this.

We cannot agree that only one version be heard, he said. He added: We have every right to express our truth because if the United States lied unscrupulously, we have more than enough courage to tell our truth.

Robaina questioned the right of powerful countries to commit all sorts of violations and justify them at their convenience, while none of these countries are ever placed in the defendant's chair.

I refuse to accept the accusations, the blackmail, because I believe that a small country like ours, with the truth and reason on our side, is not only immensely big, but becomes a power with high moral dignity, the Cuban foreign minister said.

### Cuba: Commentary Views Christopher's 'Hasty Statements'

*PA2702155496 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 2207 GMT 26 Feb 96*

[Station commentary]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher seriously attacked his own public image with a statement he made Sunday regarding an incident that occurred in Cuban jurisdictional waters. He referred to the downing of two planes that departed from the United States and were operated by pilots whose intention was to violate Cuban sovereignty once again.

As the highest official in charge of conducting U.S. diplomacy, Mr. Christopher made hasty statements that are absolutely false and deceiving, putting himself on the same level as that of the anti-Cuban ultra-rightist mafiosos who reside in Miami. He has acted as one of the terrorists and gangsters who under Washington's tolerant eye plan and carry out all kinds of wrongdoings against a neighbor country that has laws as respectable as those of the northern superpower.

The United States has been led into a situation as ridiculous as the one of April 1961, when Adlai Stevenson said in the United Nations that the planes that bombed Cuban airports on the eve of the arrival of mercenaries in Playa Giron were piloted by deserters of the Cuban Air Force. As Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa Garcia proved, it turned out that the pilots were mercenaries paid by Washington, the same as the ones that operated the planes during the landing crushed by the revolution.

In commenting on Warren Christopher's conduct, we need only to look at the conclusive arguments of the Cuban Foreign Ministry, which picture and describe in detail the incident and its serious implications. The Cuban Revolutionary Government has proof to completely refute Christopher's version and knows how to present it to the international community. One of the measures the U.S. secretary of state announced, in an attempt to punish Cuba for the justified downing of planes used to violate its airspace, is to condemn the Cuban Government before the UN Security Council. It is possible that, with the usual arrogance shown when treating his country's neighbors in this hemisphere, Christopher relied on imperial power too much and thought he could distort the truth in regard to Cuba one more time. He did not duly assess the fact that the international community has shown its disapproval of the U.S. conduct toward its small Caribbean neighbor, and that its proclaimed accusations will not find an acquiescent forum willing to believe the lie that the planes were downed in international waters.

Cuba has irrefutable evidence that the secretary of state has perfidiously lied, which will be presented to the international community. We will see how the Washington government deals with the ridiculous position in which it has been placed by the Miami mafiosos, who once again have managed to manipulate U.S. foreign policy with the help of the most reactionary circles in that country.

It is really incredible to see U.S. authorities seriously jeopardizing their public credibility and respect with such adventurous and arrogant statements lacking the minimum veracity a government with any self-respect

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should show. If this maneuver, as has been said, is a response to electoral interests, Mr. Warren Christopher has done President Clinton, his chief, the worst of favors.

**Cuba: Minister Says Nation To 'Reply Firmly' to Sanctions**

*BR2702130896 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 27 Feb 96 p 3*

[Interview with Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina by Ignacio Cembrero in Madrid on 26 February: "Roberto Robaina: 'We Will Reply Firmly To Any New U.S. Sanctions Against Cuba'" — first paragraph is EL PAIS introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Madrid — Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina yesterday made a short stopover at Madrid's Barajas airport from where he would be traveling to New York via Mexico. The 40-year-old Cuban foreign minister has interrupted a tour of Scandinavia to appear at UN headquarters to explain to the highest authority, the Security Council, his arguments on the shooting down of two American aircraft belonging to the Anti-Castro "Brothers to the Rescue" organization by MiG-29 fighters on Saturday afternoon [24 February].

[Cembrero] What will you tell the United Nations?

[Robaina] I would like the United Nations to ask me questions before they pass judgment. I will try to explain the truth. The shooting-down incident was a legitimate act of defense of our airspace. We have all kinds of evidence proving that the aircraft had violated our airspace and we will reveal it. This ranges from objects belonging to the trespassers found in our waters to recordings of conversations in which they are warned at length of the risks they would run if they did not change course. Moreover, we have the testimony of a former pilot from that organization who has told us that his group is far from being simply involved in humanitarian action. The proof I will present is irrefutable.

[Cembrero] Even if that were the case, those aircraft were not terrorists, they were unarmed.

[Robaina] The planes were apparently unarmed. But it is not enough for them to be unarmed to make them blameless. In this kind of action we are talking about something more complicated than firearms. There is armed terrorism and there is terrorism of the soul, that is to say ideological terrorism which is also used to attack the sovereignty and security of a country and its people.

[Cembrero] Those weapons do not kill, unlike the missiles on your fighters.

[Robaina] On Saturday afternoon we were the victims, not the executioners. We have been victims for a long time now. Lately there have been hundreds of intrusions over our country, our towns, our capital, and our strategic installations by airborne pirates from Florida. We warned the U.S. aircraft and authorities of the risks they were running. Our patience has a limit and with their provocation it ran out.

The United States has a lot of responsibility for what happened. It allowed aircraft with U.S. markings to take off from its airports, log a determined flight plan, and then change course half-way and flagrantly violate the airspace of a neighboring sovereign state. No self-respecting country would tolerate what is happening with Cuba. The United States would not have tolerated it for one moment.

[Cembrero] Why did you give the U.S. Navy permission to enter Cuban waters to search for the wreckage?

[Robaina] Because we have nothing to hide. They were shot down over our waters and, unless some current had gotten hold of them, that was where they remained.

[Cembrero] In addition to UN sanctions, are you not also afraid that there might be American sanctions?

[Robaina] I cannot see how anyone could apply more sanctions than are already in place. If sanctions are adopted then we will reply firmly. We are prepared for a fight. In any case, Bill Clinton and his Secretary of State Warren Christopher are again using arrogant language loaded with threats against Cuba. Partly, American electoral considerations are coming into play. I think it is about time the Cubans were left alone and not used as targets for cheap electioneering.

[Cembrero] You must admit, however, that this incident does harm Cuba's international image?

[Robaina] Yes, because most of the media is just a sounding board for the most powerful country, the United States, and its deceitful and cynical arguments. I do not think it is a coincidence that we have been victims of this provocation at a time when Cuba is just coming to terms with its problems and emerging from the crisis that arose when we lost our socialist friends in Europe.

**Cuba: Report on Cubans in Miami Blaming U.S. For Downing**

*PA2702210196 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cubavision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[From the "NTV" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Organizations of Cuban residents in the United States today blamed the Clinton

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administration for last Saturday's downing of two light planes from Miami which repeatedly violated the Cuban airspace.

In a public statement in Miami, the Alliance of Workers of the Cuban Community, the Miami Coalition Against the Embargo, the Antonio Maceo Brigade, and the Afro-Cuban Rescue condemned the White House's aggressive anti-Cuba position based on the incident.

The document blames the Brothers to the Rescue organization, and its leaders in particular, for the downing of its two light planes. The organizations of Cubans who reside in Miami added that the so-called Brothers to the Rescue during the past nine months developed a political plan with the purpose of provoking a confrontation between Cuba and the United States through repeated violations of the Cuban airspace.

**Cuba: Assembly President Comments on Downed Aircraft**

*PA2702171696 Havana Tele Rebelde Network in Spanish 0230 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[News conference by Ricardo Alarcon, president of Cuba's National Assembly of the People's Government, with an unidentified moderator and unidentified reporters at the International Press Center in Havana on 26 February — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Moderator] Good afternoon, members of the local and international media. As you know, pirate planes from the United States violated Cuban airspace on Saturday. Two of those planes were downed within Cuban territory. Comrade Alarcon is with us to discuss these matters.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct]

[Reporter] I wish to know what the most recent time was that Cuba downed a plane in similar circumstances, how many times U.S. aircraft have violated Cuban airspace between that time and now, and why a plane has been downed only now after what I guess to be so many similar violations.

[Alarcon] I do not want to bore you with statistics, but these violations of Cuban airspace have occurred quite frequently. Regarding the question why we have downed planes now, I think the answer is very simple. We have been warning the U.S. Government for months. The United States has joined us in making these warnings. The State Department has published several documents, in which we have pointed out that such flights are wrong, because they violate U.S. and Cuban law, and the Cuban Government could take measures against such violators.

So these events have been taking place and we have been publicly reiterating our opposition to them. Recently we released a statement making this warning, and many reporters residing in Cuba commented on it. In addition, we have warned the interested parties that there is no reason for us to tolerate these activities forever. The other day, I watched a CNN report from Havana. Several people on the street were asked for their opinion. One of them replied: You should have done it before. This is a very respectable view. I believe that....[pauses]. As far as I remember, the most recent downing of a plane by our forces involved a U.S. plane during the October crisis.

Now, since you are interested in history, I will remind you of something that might serve as an inspiration for President Clinton when he speaks with consideration of the pressures and opinions in Miami in mind. In Miami, where protest demonstrations are taking place to support these provocateurs, Orlando Bosch is probably there also. He is the legal U.S. resident who masterminded the assassination of more than 80 people aboard a plane in midair. If the U.S. Government is concerned about civil aviation's safety and so very interested in human lives and preventing incidents in the air, it should begin by obeying its own justice and law. This man Bosch was declared excludable many years ago by the U.S. Attorney General's Office and sent home to Miami by President Bush on the request of those very same gentlemen and one lady who was a Congress member for Florida at the time. He is at home in Miami, speaks in high places, and walks wherever he wishes. He has on his shoulders the most barbaric crime ever perpetrated in Caribbean airspace. And if they want to be even more active and take matters to the Security Council, let Ambassador Albright remember that this issue is still pending debate by the Council, where I presented it when I was ambassador. It is a scandalous situation that this man, who masterminded this crime, was admitted to the United States on President Bush's instructions, even against the advice of fiscal authorities.

But, [words indistinct], now appeared the other mastermind of this deed, Luis Posada, convicted and sentenced by a Venezuelan court for murder. He is a fugitive of Venezuelan justice and has been killing and practicing terrorism throughout Central America for years. In other words this story is considerably subjective, but the truth is that the U.S. Government has not been against piracy and has sided with the pirates. Historically, the U.S. Government has not been on the side of humanitarian feelings but against them, either covering for them or siding with them. And the U.S. Government is also doing this at present. The rest is sheer hypocrisy and second-rate electoral demagoguery. Our country be-

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haves differently. Our country does believe in something that apparently has disappeared in the United States a long time ago; that is, principles.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] from Italy. I understand that the European community has issued a rather moderate declaration, and it does not have the tone of the U.S. declaration. Has the Cuban Government received that declaration and what opinion does it have? Second, what details do you have about the Cuban diplomat who was injured in New York?

[Alarcon] The EU visited the Foreign Ministry today and presented its protest statements on the incident. These statements were that regardless [words indistinct] the EU believes the reaction had been excessive; nevertheless, at no time before preparing that declaration did the EU ask Cuba what its reasons were for taking these measures in its territory in accordance with international law and the Cuban Government's right to defend its (?sovereignty). I want to remind you [words indistinct] Europe that agreement is being sought from certain countries that are U.S. allies which are also debating this incident. I ask myself when and where did the Security Council meet to hear, debate, and condemn the sabotage against the Cubana de Aviacion airplane wherein more than 85 passengers perished, including a group of over 30 children and youths. I would also ask when and where did the UN Security Council meet to discuss and condemn the United States when it downed the Iranian passenger airliner a few years back, a downing for which they have paid no indemnity to date.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct].

[Reporter] Speaking about the term digestion, I think the use of this expression is appropriate. The approach regarding the downing of the two airplanes has changed in the United States. It was argued at the beginning that it took place in international waters. The allegations since last night are that these were two unarmed civilian airplanes. Even though I am not going to argue with the president's point over the possibility that these two small airplanes could have carried some sort of weapon—I do not believe the weapons could have been that big if they did exist—it is a question of image. A powerful MiG fighter jet blowing up two airplanes is not a nice image abroad. I would like your comment on the new approach and image.

[Alarcon] I am not going start discussing the possible damage some weapon can cause due to its size. I respect your opinion and that of the BBC reporter who also referred to this point. Whether the airplanes were unarmed is an arbitrary definition by the U.S. Government. It might be even worse. This small group of provocateurs may actually be a U.S. Government dependent that knows what each airplane carries, how those who fly them are dressed, what articles are carried or not carried.

Plenty of things can fit inside a small airplane that can cause much damage. I know of many airplanes that spread [words indistinct] entire fields of small airplanes that served to bring here terrorists or arms that killed Cubans. Small yachts and craft continue to be used at sea for similar ends.

Lives of the victims of terrorists are worth as much at least to those of the terrorists who had to pay the consequences of this action. [sentence as heard] I do not know whether Basulto, who has returned to the United States—in fact, no word is said about this matter—is another proof that the incident over Cuban territory [30-second break in reception] What did he carry? At least this gentleman has a very definite terrorist background.

I do not believe anyone can estimate the damage that can be caused to people judging by the size of an airplane. This is not something that can be simply shrugged off. Second, we should, of course, place this point first: The need to respect international law and regulations for international air navigation and, of course, the country's sovereignty. Actions by this group clearly [120- second break in reception] there are U.S. licensed airplanes that enter and leave from the United States of North America, disregarding U.S. regulations—they themselves say so—scoffing at a U.S. federal investigation, scoffing at a U.S. federal accusation, to travel.

Let us set aside for a moment the subversive mission; let us set aside the political provocation [15-second break in reception] what is the country that should concern itself the most to ensure that these things do not happen? Is not terrorism a great concern of most Americans? Are the Americans not concerned with drug trafficking? These drugs are taken to the United States in, among other things, they say, small airplanes. Those small airplanes that look like butterflies can be fully loaded with drugs that are poisoning U.S. society. Is it good for the United States that these small airplanes fly up and down the Florida Straits without respecting any regulation or order, or should the United States concern itself so these things will not take place?

Do Americans worry about illegal aliens or not? Can the Americans disregard the fact that aircraft or vessels depart Florida or enter and leave and could be carrying, among other things, illegal aliens? After all, this small group for many years has made a living from this business: Guiding, supporting, and illegally introducing immigrants into the United States. What is the U.S. policy, then? Is it against terrorism or in favor of

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terrorism, against drug trafficking or for drug trafficking, against illegal immigration or favoring it?

They simply must assume that at one time or another they must begin governing seriously, and they cannot and should not allow this Miami mafia to do as they please, disregarding the fact that it may seriously affect the interests of the U.S. people.

It is not a question of size. In any event, if we are to speak of size, we need to look at the repeatability and systematical frequency with which they have been totally disregarding the norms not once, twice, or thrice but, rather, on numerous occasions and very often, which is something no state can tolerate.

It is regrettable that something may disappear and break [15-second break in reception] they, knowing very well who was violating their own laws and rules, knowing very well which are their airplanes, have allowed them to enter and depart freely up to the day before yesterday. If we are going to talk about responsibility, if they want to speak before the UN Security Council or wherever, the greatest responsibility, the perpetrators, are the irresponsible people who lead a government incapable of ensuring that their own laws are respected.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct].

[Reporter] Can one think of a new [180-second break in reception]

[Alarcon, in progress] ...irresponsibly, but other politicians that should behave perhaps more rationally. If they believe this will earn them votes among ultrarightist groups in Miami, so be it. Luck to them. I am not as optimistic as President Clinton is.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct] Cuban television.

[Reporter] Taking into account the background of the previous UN Security Council decisions, what opinion [10-second break in reception].

[Alarcon, in progress] ...in general, the UN Security Council members and the international community I believe have a more serious and respectful attitude toward international norms of coexistence. I do not think they can be satisfied with this capricious and arbitrary way of conducting foreign policy. I believe this incident reveals the irresponsible manner the administration has been handling this affair, the continuity of a policy of hostility against our country. It also reveals that this policy will probably not be modified in the foreseeable future, that we are going to have more of the same.

[Words indistinct] Harvard University that THE WASHINGTON POST published a couple of weeks ago indicates that most Americans cannot tell the difference between a democrat or a republican. I understand this attitude by most Americans, because some democrats try their best to be as similar as possible to the most reactionary and [word indistinct] republicans.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct].

[Reporter] Regarding relations between this group and the U.S. Government, is the U.S. Government aiding their activities, or are they against them?

[Alarcon] That question, the question... [pauses] I do not know whether Clinton was asked this during today's news conference, because it is up to him to respond. These are people who violate U.S. laws, were accused by the FAA, and supposedly are under investigation and eventually are to receive some sort of punishment. The least they could supposedly do is to cancel their license to fly U.S. registered airplanes, but at the same time they have tremendous and impressive defenders, that is, the secretary of state and apparently the President. Thus I would not know how this could be described. Is it someone who has a problem with this government or is it someone who has many friends in this government? In practice, these are people who ignore U.S. laws and do [word indistinct] with the U.S. Government; this seems crazy, but the United States [words indistinct] the Miami mafia simply scoff at laws and norms. Why? Perhaps it is believed they may be useful for acquiring certain funds to pay for an electoral campaign [words indistinct]. This must always be seen within the framework of a country that has turned democracy into something evil and a cesspool of corruption, demagoguery, and lies [words indistinct] the behavior of the U.S. Government and other factors in this country.

[Moderator] [Words indistinct].

[Reporter] Do you believe this incident and Clinton's statements about the measures are indications of an upsurge of tensions such as in the worst times during previous republican administrations, as during the Reagan, Bush terms?

[Alarcon] Nothing can be excluded nowadays in this U.S. society and its political atmosphere. Many things take place during an election year in the United States, and there are many acts of irresponsibility. We should hope this is not the case. We should hope that the administration has felt obligated to do certain things and to adopt certain positions because it has felt pressure from sectors that are much more far right. Hopefully, it will not turn out to be an indication of a new period of confrontation between the two countries.

The confrontation has existed since 1959. I have also said we are prepared to face yet another administration of strong adversaries of the revolution, and we will make them fail in their attempts to destroy it. Mr. Clinton is no

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exception. He will hopefully reconsider and not continue down a path that has been proved and will always be proved a failure.

Unfortunately, I cannot say this incident will mean an end to this type of provocation. Hopefully, it will lead provocateurs to think twice. The only way to treat provocateurs is to speak to them in a clear language they can understand when we tell them we will never tolerate violations of our sovereignty.

Hopefully, this incident will spur the U.S. authorities to do something. After all, this is not asking too much, simply that they obey their own laws and regulations and do whatever they have to do, as they are paid by the U.S. people. Regarding specific details of what steps took place during the incident, I am not prepared to release details either.

**Cuba: Ambassador to Mexico on Incident, U.S. Actions**

*PA2702202396 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0400 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[Interview with Cuban Ambassador to Mexico Abelardo Curbelo by Raul Rene Trujillo at the Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City; from the "24 Hours" newscast — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cuban Ambassador to Mexico Abelardo Curbelo commented on the Cuban Government in "24 Hours."

[Trujillo] What are your feelings on the incident of the downed aircraft?

[Curbelo] This incident is only the outcome of what had been happening for quite a while. The aircraft of the so-called Brothers to the Rescue group had been conducting incursions into Cuba with a certain impunity, and we have warned that this group and other Miami-based groups were putting us in a position in which we might have to adopt measures at any particular moment. We also conveyed this to the U.S. Government, and asked the U.S. Government to adopt measures to prevent these groups from conducting this sort of action, which was bound to provoke an incident like the one on Saturday. As you know, on Saturday morning, these planes began their incursions into Cuban airspace and we did not take any action. However, when the planes resumed their incursions at 1500, we were forced to react by bringing the aircraft down.

[Trujillo] How many of these incursions do you believe or estimate this Miami-based group had been conducting?

[Curbelo] Based on figures, data, and even public — not confidential — reports, this group had been conducting incursions, since mid-1995. They had been conducting these incursions for a long time prior to the so-called rafters' crisis, with the pretext of helping to rescue and locate rafters. Once we reached an agreement with the U.S. Government and the flow of rafters was suspended, they continued their actions with another objective: To directly enter Cuban territory. At this moment, I can tell you precisely that they conducted incursions on 13 July 1995 and on another date that I do not recall exactly, but I believe it was in mid-January 1996.

[Trujillo] The Security Council has been deliberating the possibility of imposing sanctions on Cuba. Are you prepared to face this?

[Curbelo] We are prepared for this and much more. What is incomprehensible here is that the Security Council — according to the UN Charter — is responsible for preserving the peace. As far as I know and understand, and considering the particulars of the incident, the Miami-based group was responsible for raiding Cuban territory. Then, who are the ones endangering peace? We, the Cubans? No, by no means. We would never take a step in that direction. It would be irrational for us to do this.

[Trujillo] Is Cuba on a war footing?

[Curbelo] We are not on a war footing. We are merely responding to what the United States is doing, but we are still using diplomatic channels.

[Trujillo] Is Cuba afraid of further repressions by the United States?

[Curbelo] Yes, but we are prepared to face it.

[Trujillo] What might those be?

[Curbelo] They are announcing unilateral actions, but apparently, they do not involve military actions. We are prepared for any action.

[Trujillo] Thanks.

**Cuba: Official Note on President Clinton's Statements**

*PA2702134396 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0657 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Havana, 27 Feb (PL) — The Cuban Foreign Ministry today issued a declaration a few hours after U.S. President William Clinton made statements against this country. Herewith, PRENSA LATINA publishes the text of the Cuban Foreign Ministry note:

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"The U.S. President held a news conference yesterday to again refer to last Saturday's incident, when two pirate aircraft from a Florida base once again penetrated Cuban airspace and territorial waters and were downed."

William Clinton's words were aimed, first of all, at reaffirming the main arguments used to condemn the event from his point of view, adding nothing new. Second, he announced the measures to be applied against our country.

As a first measure, the President promised to agree with his country's Congress, with which he has had differences, on approval of the Helms-Burton bill, which seeks to intensify even further the blockade against Cuba.

He sought the support of the UN Security Council to gain a condemnation and sanctions against Cuba, a position which is contradictory to the UN General Assembly, which has condemned the U.S. economic siege against Cuba four consecutive times.

Another of the proposed measures, that is, the suspension of trips by Cuban-Americans to the island, first affects numerous families who live in the United States, mainly in Florida, and second, those who live in our country.

The intention to collect funds to increase the broadcast capabilities of the ill named Radio Marti clearly contradicts the position of certain U.S. sectors vying for a reduction of the costs of this type of meddling.

Regardless of how contradictory and absurd these measures are, the greatest injustice is that these measures are taken against the country that is the victim of a blockade, terrorist actions, and repeated and increasing insolent violations of Cuban airspace and waters.

What are the measures to be taken against the terrorists organizations that from U.S. territory carry out armed actions and violations of the airspace of a sovereign nation?

What are the measures against the U.S. authorities who were warned on more than one occasion and whose responsibility was to prevent these flights from taking place?

There is no reason whatsoever to penalize Cuba.

The unjust and cruel measures announced by President Clinton do not seem to be enough to the representatives of the right-wing radicals of Cuban origin in the United States, who by asking for more stern sanctions are doing nothing but contributing to worsen the U.S. political climate with a view to hindering the path of the current President toward the 1996 elections.

The right-wing radicals living in Miami and their gangs, who act on the fringes of the U.S. laws and have turned Miami into a private haven, have imposed their ideas through blackmail and terror. The intolerance of these ultra-rightist gangsters has become the rule of conduct prevailing there, in the fashion of the worst times of the medieval inquisition.

A REUTER dispatch from Miami yesterday stated that the radical radio stations of that city "continued to be the channel of expression today for the most intransigent and virulent sectors that have called for torching agencies which organize trips to Cuba and embassies, blowing up airplanes that fly to the island, assassinating President Fidel Castro, or launching another invasion." Complaining that the United States has hog-tied the exiles, spokespeople for the right-wing radical groups "have called for a preparation for a war," the dispatch concludes.

To these shrieks coming from Florida, there are also the aggressive statements made yesterday by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in El Salvador, where he said: "President Clinton has not included any military action (against Cuba), but he has not ruled out the possibility of taking measures of this sort against Cuba."

There are threats again, there are economic sanctions again, there are actions to tighten the blockade again. There are laws again to try to crush the people through starvation and diseases. Let the U.S. leaders and miserable traitors know there are people in our country who are trying to cooperate with them: This is a struggle of "motherland or death."

Cuba is not afraid of and does not accept any threats. Cuba has been familiar with them for more than 30 years and has never trembled before them, not even when they could turn into probable nuclear destruction. This position was stated accurately in the notes released by the Foreign Ministry and reaffirmed yesterday by companero Ricardo Alarcon, president of the National Assembly of the People's Government, in a news conference.

In addition, our small country's upright and unchanging position at this time relies on the solidarity of several organizations in various places of the world.

Now, the loss of human lives has been decried after the events, but the truth is that when the illegal air raids could have been discouraged, forbidden, and stopped by those who could have done it, our repeated warnings were ignored, and some people even applauded those irresponsible adventures.

These events took place just as we are approaching the commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the

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Playa Giron victory. We have the full and unbending determination to again confront and crush similar or larger attacks, if the circumstances so demand, under the permanent premise of making a defensive war that would never end with the aggressors' success.

Our people's spirit of struggle and victory remains unchanging in the face of any threats.

Foreign Ministry.

**Cuba: Cuba To Explain 'Truth' Surrounding Downing**

*PA2702152496 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0714 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mexico City, 27 Feb (PL) — Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina affirmed here tonight his country is not going to the UN Security Council as the defendant in the downing of pirate airplanes but, rather, to explain to the world the truth surrounding the incidents.

During a midnight news conference at the Mexico City Airport, Robaina assured that Cuba was attacked and that airplanes flying out of the United States trespassed Cuban airspace.

We are facing yet another operation stemming from the evil plans of the United States against the world, Robaina added.

We were the only ones provoked, and ours was the only airspace violated, Robaina said after recalling that the Cuban jets did not transgress U.S. skies.

"We will accuse not only the perpetrators but also the country that knew and was warned about what was happening," Robaina stressed.

Robaina arrived at midnight in Mexico City from Madrid.

On 27 February, the foreign minister will fly to the United Nations, where the Security Council will analyze the situation created by the repeated penetration of Cuban territory by airplanes from Florida. Two of the airplanes were shot down on 24 February after repeated warnings by Cuban officials.

Robaina said he hopes the international organization will act in accordance with the law and not yield to pressures from one of its members.

**Cuba: Official Says Downed Planes Represented Threat**

*PA2702150796 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0719 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mexico City, 27 Feb (PL) — Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina said here today that the pirate planes downed on 24 February in his country's airspace represented a threat to the island's security.

The dangers have been not only potential but real, and we rest assured that we have warned many times about these violations of our airspace, Robaina said during a news conference at the international airport of this capital.

He said any aircraft regardless of the size of the planes and whether they were carrying armament that is flying out of total control over a populated territory represents a threat. He added that these risks increase even more in the case of the two downed planes, in view of the fact that the purpose of their crew members was to promote actions against the constitution of the country and, in addition, to create civil disobedience among the Cubans.

He recalled that as a result of air operations, the island has been the victim of such criminal actions in previous years as the use of bacteriological means against the people.

He said the pilots of the aircraft were warned they were violating national airspace. They ignored the warning, challenging the announcements by the Cuban aeronautical authorities.

"One cannot play with this, because we will defend our sovereignty and independence at whatever cost is necessary," he stressed.

In this regard, he concluded by saying the downing of the two aircraft was an act of legitimate defense against the attackers of Cuban territory.

Robaina is scheduled to continue his trip to New York within the next few hours to attend the debates on these events at the UN Security Council.

**Cuba: Aircraft Downing Said 'Act of Legitimate Defense'**

*PA2702163196 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0802 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mexico City, 27 Feb (PL) — Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina said here today that the downing of two aircraft that violated Cuban airspace on 24 February was an act of legitimate defense of Cuba's independence and sovereignty.

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In a news conference held upon his arrival in Mexico, on his way to New York to participate in a meeting of the UN Security Council, Robaina rejected the U.S. arguments that the incident is the product of an unjustifiable action by Cuban authorities.

He said his government has been acting with extreme prudence throughout more than 20 months of continuous violations of the island's airspace and asked what would happen had that action occurred over U.S. territory.

Robaina said that the Cuban airplanes did not violate U.S. sovereignty but that the out-of-control aircraft coming from that country entered Cuba's airspace without any authorization.

He warned that the evidence of such contentions is in Cuba, whose authorities have in their hands several objects of the crew members of those aircraft found near Cuban shores, he said.

Foreign Minister Robaina accused the U.S. authorities of falsehood, as they now claim the incident took place in international airspace when on 24 February they had asked for authorization to proceed to search for possible survivors in Cuban territorial waters.

As if this were not enough, he added, we have the statement by a person who, until a few hours ago, was a member of the group "Brothers to the Rescue," which is responsible for the pirate flights. These flights prove that far from being linked to humanitarian actions, they are involved in mafia activities and the illegal trafficking of emigrants, he said.

Asked about the Cuban position on President William Clinton's recent announcement of new reprisals against Cuba, Robaina said his government is also entitled to adopt unilateral measures. He added that he is attending the meeting of the UN Security Council with the hopes that that organization will listen to both sides of the incident and will not only assimilate and amplify the U.S. positions.

The Cuban foreign minister ruled out that there is any fear in his country in light of any possible action by Washington, because if the revolutionary process has survived for 35 years, it is because it has never been afraid of threats. He added that Cuba is prepared to face more cruel measures than the ones intended in Washington's blockade on Havana for more than 30 years, but it hopes the world will not support the campaign that has emerged in the wake of the U.S. electoral positions.

**Cuba: Report on Approval of UN Declaration on Downing**

*PA2702173096 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0945 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] United Nations, 27 Feb (PL) — After countless pressures, publicly or privately, recognized by various member countries, the United States has managed to obtain the approval of a UN declaration against Cuba for the downing of two pirate planes on 24 February.

The document, issued as a declaration signed by the president of the Security Council, which is headed by the United States during February, reflects the consensus of its 15 members after extensive debates behind closed doors and numerous reeditions and amendments. The latter were due to a request from various states to soften the aggressive language in the first version presented by the U.S. delegation, which contained words and epithets that were considered excessive and out of context by those who objected to them.

The document states, however, that the council "strongly deplores the downing by Cuba of two unarmed civilian planes on 24 February 1996, which seems to have resulted in the death of four people."

The document completely avoided any reference to a statement by the Cuban Foreign Ministry explaining the incident when two aircraft entered Cuban airspace ignoring the warnings Cuban authorities made to the violators by radio.

The document cites an article of the International Civil Aviation Agreement of 7 December 1944, according to which the states must refrain from using weapons against overflying civilian planes and should not endanger the lives of the individuals who are on board or the aircraft's security.

According to diplomatic sources, that paragraph has not been approved by enough signatory countries, among them Cuba and the United States, for its implementation. Nevertheless, the declaration states that "states must respect international laws and regulations regarding human rights in all circumstances." No reference is made to the Cuban Foreign Ministry's explanation on the frequent, illegal incursions of those planes originating from airports in Florida.

The document also asks the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) to thoroughly investigate the incident and urges interested governments to cooperate fully with the investigations.

In addition, the ICAO is asked to submit a report on its conclusions, which the council will promptly review, as

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soon as possible, as well as any new information it may receive.

In that manner, the United States achieved its purpose of adopting a document before the arrival of Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina, who is en route to the UN Headquarters to render a report on the incident.

The UN decision did not take into consideration the evidence from one of the parties involved, in this case Cuba, which is accused of presumed violations.

**Cuba: Minister Says Pilots Breached 'Patience' Limit**

*LD2702124296 Madrid RNE International in Spanish 1100 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Relations between the United States and Cuba have deteriorated recently after the shooting down of two light aircraft belonging to the anti-Castro organization Brothers to the Rescue by the Cuban air force in the Straits of Florida. [passage omitted]

The Cuban Government insists that the shooting down of the aircraft took place within its airspace and that it was an act in defense of its sovereignty. According to Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina, there is a limit to [Cuba's] patience which in this case was overstepped.

[Begin Robaina recording] We have, I would say, shown a gigantic example of patience and not a show of strength. Patience has a limit. Patience has a limit because the security of our country and the integrity of its territory cannot be abused or violated in the way that they were trying to do. [end recording]

The island's authorities also claim that the United States is largely responsible for what happened by allowing aircraft which take off from its territory to systematically violate Cuban airspace. As proof of this they have shown on television a pilot who infiltrated the Brothers to the Rescue anti—Castro organization.

**Cuba: Robaina News Conference in Mexico on Incident**

*PA2702224396 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1255 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[From the "Doing Radio" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Now, we seek more news, sound, and color, direct from the satellite room, we have Mario Jorge Munoz with last minute reports.

[Munoz] Thank you, Harry. I have the video of the news conference that Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina offered once he arrived in Mexico City. Many reporters from different news agencies around the world can be seen. Robaina has just stated that the Cuban Government's decision to shoot down the two airplanes belonging to the Brothers to the Rescue group that transgressed Cuban sovereignty, our international waters and skies, is an action of sovereignty that is unquestionable. But let us listen to the following report from ECO [Global Communication Enterprise].

[Begin recording] [Robaina] What country in the world that respects itself would be willing to allow the violations that have been repeatedly committed against our territory?

[Unidentified reporter] Roberto Robaina is in Mexico City en route to fly on to the United States on Tuesday, where he will go to the UN Security Council. He said he is going to the United Nations with evidence in hand, which range from taped telephone conversations to a minute-by-minute follow-up of the entire process. Robaina said that they have been warning about such actions for the past 20 months.

[Robaina] We have acted honestly. We have evidence to counter what some are saying, that the country has wanted to give a demonstration of strength. For a long time, my country has been teaching a giant lesson of patience. I would like to know if some plane, if a civilian plane as they are now claiming, does that over U.S. territory, how would the U.S. Government react?

[Reporter] Robaina addressed reports that the planes did not cross Cuban airspace and said that Secretary of State Warren Christopher is misinformed.

[Robaina] You would have to be extremely barefaced to be claiming now that the incident took place in international waters. They apparently forgot that on that same Saturday they asked the Cuban authorities for permission to enter our territorial waters. It was permission that was granted; therefore, there is a great incoherence among the things that are being stated.

[Reporter] Robaina stated that the United States has the right to make any unilateral decision, and Cuba will also be entitled to respond.

[Robaina] Enough of the Cuban-American topic being the center of a cheap electoral policy with which we have nothing to do. I ask the United States to organize its elections around its own internal problems. It has many problems, so it should not worry about our problems, which only concern the Cuban people.

[Unidentified reporter] [words indistinct] of repeated warnings, they played with impunity, he said. With Cuba, you do not play around with impunity, because we defend our sovereignty and independence at whatever price. [end recording]

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[Munoz] These were Robaina's statements at the Mexico City airport. It is known that Robaina will leave today for the United Nations, where he will present irrefutable evidence that the Brothers to the Rescue planes were shot down over Cuban territory.

**Cuba: Security Council Declaration 'Unacceptable'**

*PA2702175596 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1324 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] United Nations, 27 Feb (PL) - Cuba has termed unacceptable the declaration from the presidency of the UN Security Council that the United States has presented to condemn Cuba for having defended its sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In a speech at the Council early this morning just minutes before the declaration was approved, Cuban Representative Bruno Rodriguez Parilla harshly criticized the United States for the barefaced manner of manipulating the facts and unusual ways being used to conduct the work of the Security Council.

Under pressure from Washington, the UN Security Council has analyzed the Cuban Air Force's downing of two pirate planes that took off from U.S. territory and violated Cuba's airspace and territorial waters on 24 February.

Rodriguez Parrilla said: The presidential declaration before you, as well as any other action, will be acceptable to Cuba as long as they avoid a clear and unequivocal condemnation of the acts of aggression carried out from U.S. territory against the island. [sentence as received]

Rodriguez Parrilla added that any document of that nature must contain "a clear condemnation of the flagrant violations of Cuba's airspace and territorial waters and a direct denunciation of the terrorist actions that have been and are being brazenly plotted and carried out against Cuba and its people."

Rodriguez Parrilla accused the U.S. permanent representative of using the prerogatives of the post of president of the Security Council for his own benefit.

Rodriguez Parrilla said: It has been seen quite clearly that the fact that that country heads the Security Council under these circumstances has given its work very particular characteristics and dynamics.

At the beginning of his speech, Rodriguez Parrilla recalled that a U.S. ambassador presented at this same venue 35 years ago photographs and proof of presumed Cuban military aircraft whose pilots had rebelled against their government and had bombed airports in Cuba. He added that the U.S. President himself denied this a few days later when he acknowledged his government's responsibility in these actions prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Rodriguez Parrilla said: "Similar slander today stems from a similar source, and we hope there is enough honesty and courage to lead to a denial."

Rodriguez Parrilla also said that through its actions today, the Security Council, which is frequently slow and guilty of omission, has once again speedily distorted the mandate it has been given by the UN Charter to watch over international peace and security.

"It is not international peace and security that are threatened today," he said. "It is the peace, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the security of Cuba that have been in jeopardy for more than 35 years as a result of the actions of those who, from a position of force, are promoting actions against my country today and trying to manipulate this organization and this Council," he said.

He charged that 25 aircraft coming from the United States in the last 20 months have violated Cuban airspace, and all these cases have been officially notified to the U.S. Interests Section in Havana.

He added that his country's government has irrefutable evidence that the two aircraft in question were in Cuban airspace at the time they were shot down and that three planes coming from the United States that same day, 24 February, had violated Cuban airspace during the morning hours.

Two hours before the downing, Abundo Rodriguez, one of the individuals responsible for these aircraft flying toward Cuba, was warned of the activation of the defenses in various zones of northern Havana and of the risk they would run if they penetrated these zones, but he replied he knew of the ban and would fly into the area anyhow.

Rodriguez Parrilla said that despite the public and official alerts by Cuba on the dangers that could be derived from these actions, the U.S. Government did not adopt any effective measure to prevent these violations of Cuban airspace.

The diplomat recalled the act of genocide committed when a Cuban commercial plane carrying 72 passengers was blown up in midair in 1976. This action did not provoke even the slightest reaction by the United States, which took charge of guaranteeing the financial and political resources for the protection of the perpetrators of this action instead of taking the issue to the United Nations.

In this regard, Rodriguez Parrilla mentioned the testimony by Juan Pablo Roque, one of the pilots of the

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organization Brothers to the Rescue who was presented in Havana a few hours ago. He mentioned the instructions he received of carrying explosives and exploring Cuban highways and economic targets in order to place these explosives.

He also mentioned a quote from the declaration referring to an article from the International Convention on Civil Aviation, while it deliberately ignores another article that clearly establishes measures for the due use of the aircraft of this type.

The diplomat described the measures issued by President William Clinton as the greatest injustice, because these measures are adopted against a country that has been the victim of a U.S. blockade for over three decades, of terrorist actions, and of reiterated and evermore insolent violations of airspace and maritime space.

At the same time, Rodriguez asked what are the measures that will be applied to the terrorist organizations that use U.S. territory to plan and carry out these actions and to the U.S. authorities who have been alerted on more than one occasion and who had the duty of preventing these flights.

Likewise, he quoted the statements made by U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher who referred to the possibility of taking military-styled actions against Cuba.

Cuba does not fear, does not accept threats, because it has known them for more than 30 years and has never trembled before them, not even when they acquired the nature of possible nuclear destruction, he said.

The permanent Cuban representative before the United Nations said that 35 years after the Bay of Pigs victory, his country has the complete and unyielding determination of confronti..g and crushing similar and increased attacks, if the circumstances so warrant it, and will wage a defensive war that will never end with the victory of the aggressors.

**Cuba: Official Says Havana 'Does Not Feel Isolated'**

*PA2702185896 Paris AFP in Spanish*
*1404 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Bucharest, 27 Feb (AFP) — Cuban Ambassador to Romania Luis Delfin Perez Osorio said on Tuesday that his country "does not feel isolated," that "it has the support of its friends," and "it is not afraid of retaliatory measures" adopted by the United States against Cuba.

"Cuba remains firm in its stand because its actions respect international rules," he said during a news conference, in which he commented on the dispute stemming from last Saturday's destruction of two U.S. civilian aircraft by Cuban fighters.

"Cuba has many friends in the world, and it has their solidarity in this new case of provocation against Cuba. We do not wish to worsen the disputes that separate us from the United States. This dispute, Perez Osorio pointed out, "failed to obtain a condemnation of Cuba by members of the Security Council" of the United Nations.

"For many years, our country has been subjected to a U.S. blockade. Consequently, we are used to it, and we do not fear new U.S. retaliatory measures," he added, mentioning the four measures unilaterally adopted by the United States.

With regard to an investigation of the circumstances of the incident as demanded by the Security Council, Perez Osorio said: "Cuba has all the evidence to prove that its action was just, and it is willing to present this evidence to the proper authority."

**Cuba: Envoy to Ecuador Says UNSC 'Very Insecure'**

*PY2802002696 Madrid EFE in Spanish*
*1522 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Quito, 27 Feb (EFE) — Cuban Ambassador to Ecuador Rene Castro stated today that the UN Security Council [UNSC] "is very insecure" because it met without the presence of Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina to analyze the increased tension with the United States.

In an interview granted to "Radio Quito," the ambassador said: "Unfortunately, the UN Security Council, which today is a most insecure council, has met without the presence of the Cuban foreign minister. This shows to public opinion that there is prejudice toward a country whose arguments no one seems willing to hear."

He also acknowledged that the measures announced on Monday by U.S. President Bill Clinton against Cuba "will complicate things even more" on the island.

He lamented the fact that the rapprochement seen over the past few months between the governments of Washington and Havana has been affected by the incident of the airplanes, which he called a "provocation."

The ambassador added that Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina will present to the UN Security Council evidence that the shooting of the civilian planes took place in Cuban airspace.

He said: "The United States knows that Cuba is not lying, that they (the United States) are lying to international public opinion, and that once again a campaign

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of discredit is being launched in an effort to cause enormous tensions in relations" between the United States and Cuba.

**Cuba: Article Views UN Security Council Declaration**

*PA2702220396 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 1529 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[By Roberto Molina]

[FBIS Translated Text] United Nations, 27 Feb (PL) — The manipulations and pressures by the United States to pass early this morning a document condemning Cuba stands out as a new demonstration of the hegemonic plans of the greatest superpower over the rest of the world.

Since Sunday night, when the United States sent itself a letter to urgently convene the UN Security Council and submit a draft declaration against Cuba because of the incidents that took place on 24 February in Cuba's territorial waters and airspace until the stroke of 0400 this morning, the image projected was not any different.

After solely presenting its side of the incident, a carbon copy of the version disclosed by the Miami-based anti-Cuban right-wing radicals, the U.S. delegation took great pains to achieve its objective.

Among other manipulations, it impressed a very particular spirit and traits to the organization's work, taking advantage of the fact that it was its turn to preside it during this month of February.

The pressures exerted on the representatives of several of the 15 member states were publicly or privately revealed. This became evident when those who supported the position of gathering information and evidence from Cuba began to gradually change their minds, until the unusual decision of not even considering the possibility of waiting less than 24 hours for the arrival of Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina to address the Council was reached.

Near the end, Washington employed a game which could be described as low in the mildest tone.

It exerted pressure on the members to lead them to the adoption of a declaration by the Presidency of the UN Security Council, which is always done through a consensus mechanism, using a less aggressive language against Cuba on paper, while at the same time, it gave the media a speech with a diametrically opposed content.

U.S. Permanent Representative Madeleine Albright, who presides the Council, did not hide her intentions to have the document passed today at any cost, when she said that it was inadmissible to further delay a meeting that had been convened in an urgent manner.

This attitude strongly called the attention of those who follow here the work by the organization, since they recalled that when the genocide that took a toll of almost 1 million lives and 1.5 million refugees was being perpetrated in Rwanda, the White House took great pains to extend the debates and bring about inaction.

Finally, despite the warnings voiced by Cuba's Permanent Representative Bruno Rodriguez, who demanded a document with a clear condemnation of the flagrant violations of Cuba's airspace and territorial waters and the perpetration of terrorist acts, the draft declaration by the president of the Council was adopted.

Just as it had been predicted, Cuba was not put on the spot [no se sento en el banquillo de los acusados] as Albright wanted when she called Ambassador Rodriguez to sit at the UN Security Council's table at the time the document was read.

And any other outcome would have been unlikely, after describing this conduct as unfair, inequitable, and brazenly manipulated.

However, the United States imposed its force as the only superpower in the unipolar world, in the new order it seeks to establish to reject reason.

For how long will it be able to continue doing this, particularly against the small countries and the so-called Third World, is a question that should be pondered some day by the peoples of the United Nations.

**Cuba: Radio Commentary on UN Security Council Resolution**

*PA2702214796 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[Commentary read by Orlando Contreras; from the "National Radio News" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Perhaps the hegemonic world of our days is suffering from a binary syndrome: Loss of shame or loss of memory. If the latter is the case — loss of memory — it would not a bad idea to remember a few facts in light of the UN Security Council's decision.

First, I believe everybody agrees that as the UN Security Council's resolution says, states must abstain from using weapons against moving civilian planes and should not endanger the lives of persons who are on board and the security of the plane. In October 1976, a DC-8 plane operated by Cubana de Aviacion was sabotaged by well-known CIA agents. More than 80 civilians were murdered in that treacherous action that caused the death

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of the young members of a Cuban swordplay champion team. Despite the Cuban protest, the UN Security Council has not yet condemned such a brutal crime. Orlando Bosch, one of the hired assassins responsible for the attack accumulated such a vast terrorist record that a U.S. prosecutor considered him ineligible for U.S. residence and requested his expulsion. Former President George Bush, in connivance with the Miami Mafia, authorized giving this criminal a resident status, and he is still there.

The United States destroyed an Iranian airbus in the Persian Gulf area. It was argued that it was due to an error, but even U.S. experts said that an officer having a minimum qualifications could not have mistaken in a radar screen the voluminous shape of an airbus with capacity for more than 300 passengers with the smaller shape of a combat plane or the speed of one or the other.

Did the UN Security Council gather to profoundly regret the downing of that civilian aircraft filled with passengers? Did it order an investigation to determine if it was an unintentional mistake or a premeditated action to sow terror in an atmosphere of war?

There is another aspect that must be highlighted. The civilian or military condition of the plane does not depend on the plane itself but on the objectives pursued by its crew members. The same plane can be used to transport passengers or elite troops parachutists, to work in the area of tourism or to drop explosives, to investigate meteorological conditions or to spy on other countries. A plane or lightplane on a civilian mission conforms to the air navigation conventions and if it accidentally deviates from its course, the crew accepts and even expresses thanks for indications to resume its flight plan.

It is shamelessly cynical to state that the pirate aircraft operating under the command of a known terrorist in Florida are planes on a civilian mission. Smaller planes have launched explosives on Cuban sugar fields. Smaller planes have transported explosives. It is not the plane in itself what defines its military or civilian condition; this is defined by the plane's mission.

The United States exerted all kinds of pressure to assure that the UN Security Council condemned Cuba for the offense of defending its sovereignty and territorial security. The text approved only regrets the destruction of the pirate planes. We also regret any loss of human life. However, in order for us not to have to regret the loss of lives of hardworking Cubans, not to have to regret sinister attacks, nor the destruction of what costs us so much work, we feel very confident to know that the sovereignty and security of the fatherland, the life and safety of all of us is cared for and defended with zeal, honor, and efficiency.

### Cuba: Robaina To Meet Members of UN Security Council

*PA2702191996 Paris AFP in Spanish 1835 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] New York, United Nations, 27 Feb (AFP) — Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina will meet on 27 February with the members of the UN Security Council in New York, where he will arrive in a few hours prior to the adoption of a declaration deploring the downing of two U.S. small aircraft by the Cuban Air Force.

A spokesman for the United Nations has said Robaina will meet with the Security Council members as of 1600 (2100 GMT). [passage omitted]

### Cuba: Rescue Group Announces New Mission for 2 Mar

*PA2702200996 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1932 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Miami, 27 Feb (NOTIMEX) — The organization Brothers to the Rescue today announced it will carry out a new mission in the area in front of the Havana coasts on 2 March, one week after the Cuban Air Force shot down two planes of that organization.

"We will fly to the area where our brothers were murdered last Saturday to conduct an ecumenical religious ceremony and to drop some flowers into the sea in memory of our martyrs," said Jose Basulto, top leader of the organization.

### Cuba: Robaina at UN With 'Bona Fide' Evidence on Downing

*PA2702210296 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 2019 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] United Nations, 27 Feb (PL) — Cuban Foreign Minister Roberto Robaina arrived in New York today to submit the evidence his country has on the events which led to the shooting down of two pirate airplanes.

The foreign minister was received by Bruno Rodriguez Parrilla, Cuban ambassador to the UN; Pedro Nunez Mosquera, alternate representative; and other officials of the Cuban mission to the UN.

Robaina, who arrived here following a stopover in Mexico City, held a news conference last night in that capital and declared his intention of showing bona fide

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evidence that two pirate airplanes shot down by the Cuban Armed Forces on 24 February were flagrantly violating his country's airspace and territorial waters.

Consequently, the Cuban foreign minister's statement on this issue is expected today.

**Cuba: Request For 'Urgent' UN Meeting on Plane Downings**

*PA2702234396 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[From the "Exclusive" news magazine]

[FBIS Translated Text] A report just received here states that Cuba today requested an urgent meeting with the UN General Assembly to explain the downing of two planes that repeatedly violated the island's airspace and sovereignty. Foreign Relations Minister Roberto Robaina said that he proposed the petition and explained his reasons in meetings he held today with UN General Assembly President Diogo Freitas do Amaral and UN Under Secretary General Marrack Goulding.

**Cuba: Cuban Ambassador's Speech at UN Security Council**

*PA2802033096 Havana CHTV Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[Speech by Bruno Rodriguez, Cuban ambassador to the United Nations, at the UN Security Council on 27 February; from the "Focus on Havana" program — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The future development of international civil aviation can strongly contribute to developing and preserving friendship and understanding among the world's nations and peoples, while the abuses on international civil aviation could become a threat against widespread security.

I can make public a note the Cuban Foreign Relations Ministry issued, a note that is currently being published. Yesterday, the U.S. President held a news conference to again refer to the incident that took place on 24 February, when two pirate aircraft that were coming from a base located in Florida once more entered Cuban airspace and maritime waters, were downed. William Clinton's words were aimed at, first, reaffirming the main arguments they have brandished to decry the incident from their standpoint — this aspect failed to deliver anything new — and, second, announcing the measures that would be implemented against our country.

As a first measure, he pledged to agree with his country's Congress, with which he had disagreed on this regard, to approve the Helms-Burton bill, which is geared toward toughening even more the blockade against Cuba. He obtained the approval of the UN Security Council to seek sanctions against Cuba. This position contradicts the fact that the UN General Assembly has condemned on four consecutive occasions the U.S. economic siege on Cuba.

Another one of the proposed measures, the suspension of Cuban-Americans' trips to the island, primarily affects numerous families which live in the United States, mainly in Florida and secondarily those who live in our country. The purpose of gathering funds to increase the broadcasting capabilities of the ill-named Radio Marti clearly contradicts the position adopted by certain U.S. groups which advocate reducing the expenses that this form of interference involves.

Aside from the contradictory and absurd nature of these measures, the greatest injustice is that they are adopted against the country that is the victim of a blockade, terrorist actions, repeated and increasingly insolent violations of the Cuban airspace and maritime jurisdiction. What are the measures against terrorist organizations that plan and carry out military actions, violations of a sovereign nation's airspace from U.S. territory? What are the measures against U.S. authorities, which were alerted on more than one occasion and whose duty it was to prevent these flights?

There are no reasons whatsoever to sanction Cuba. However, the unfair and cruel measures President Clinton announced seem limited to representatives of the U.S. ultra-rightist wing of Cuban origin. As they request tougher sanctions, they are doing nothing more than contributing to toughening the U.S. political climate in an effort to hinder the current president's path toward the 1996 elections. The extreme right and its gangs living in Miami, that illegally act in the United States, and that have made this Florida city into a private shed make their ideas prevail through blackmail and terror. The intolerance of these ultra-rightist gangsters has become the rule of conduct prevailing there, as it was the custom during the worst times of the medieval inquisition.

A Miami-datelined dispatch from the British news agency REUTERS yesterday stated that the radio stations of this city today continue to be the channel of expression of the most intransigent and virulent sectors that demanded to burn the agencies that organize trips to Cuba and embassies, to blow up planes that fly to Cuba, to assassinate President Fidel Castro, or to launch another invasion. The dispatch ends as follows: While complaining that the United States has tied the exiles' hands, spokesmen from ultra-rightist groups have made a call to get ready to wage a war. To these shouts

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coming from Florida, we add the aggressive statements Secretary of State Warren Christopher made yesterday in El Salvador. He said: President Clinton has not included any military action against Cuba; however, he has contemplated the possibility of taking measures of this sort against the island. Once more, threats; once more, measures against the economy. Once more, actions to toughen the blockade; once more, laws to try to have the people surrender due to starvation and diseases. Let the U.S. leaders know, let the wretched traitors who are trying to cooperate with them in our country know that this is a fatherland-or-death fight. Cuba does not fear and does not accept threats. It has known a great amount of these during more than 35 years, and it has never feared them, not even when they bordered on the possibility of nuclear destruction. This position has been accurately explained in the notes that the Foreign Ministry made public in the last few days and that Ricardo Alarcon de Quezada, National Assembly of the People's Government president, reaffirmed yesterday at a news conference.

In addition, our small country's crystal clear and unchangeable position, on this occasion, has also had the solidarity of the most diverse organizations from various places in the world. Now, after the events took place, expressions regretting the loss of human lives are emerging.

However, the bitter reality is that when the pirate air incursions could have been discouraged, forbidden, and stopped by those who could do it, the repeated warnings were ignored, and some even praised those irresponsible adventures. These events took place as we are approaching the marking of the 35th anniversary of the Bay of Pigs victory with the full and irrevocable decision to again face and crush similar or worse attacks if the circumstances make us face them, under the permanent premise of waging a defensive war that would never end with the aggressors' victory. Our people's spirit of struggle and victory does not change, regardless of any threat.

**Cuba: Commentary on Clinton's 'New, Merciless Measures'**

*PA2802034196 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Commentary by Miguel Angel de la Guardia; from the "Evening Information Review"]

[FBIS Translated Text] First, it was U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who became a hostage to the mafia groups from the anti-Cuban ultra-rightwing sectors based in Florida. Now it is President Clinton who has subjected himself to the anti-Cuban program of the Republican cavemen in the U.S. Congress. President Clinton did not allow his secretary of state's words to cool off and — in addition to confirming the false and manipulative arguments given by Mr. Christopher regarding the downing of two planes that violated Cuban airspace — announced new, merciless measures to exert pressure on the Cuban people, which adds to the long chain of aggressions the small country in the Caribbean has had to face in the defense of its national dignity, sovereignty, and right to free self-determination.

It seems clear that the U.S. President wants to take advantage of this opportunity to reduce his controversies with the Republican majority in both houses of the U.S. Congress. He is now openly backing the crazy Helms-Burton bill, which he had planned to veto because he did not want to hurt U.S. relations with other countries, some of them traditional allies of Washington. This rash action can only be explained by the hesitant conduct adopted by Mr. Clinton when confronting new situations inside and outside his country.

It is strange that the intelligent group of advisers, who have been pulling Clinton's chestnuts out of the fire to the point of increasing his reelection probabilities, have not recommended a better decision with regard to the recent incident in Cuban territorial waters.

The measures he has announced with so much uproar are no better or worse than the ones that have already been adopted by the U.S. Government in the past 37 years without result.

Cuba has resisted courageously and will not surrender now that it is so close to victory despite the closeness of the aggressive empire threatening it. Not even by turning Cuban territory into an inferno will the great imperialist power have its way.

It can only be expected that the 117 countries, which with their vote in the UN General Assembly, condemned the U.S. economic blockade against Cuba only five months ago will act intelligently and not dance to the tune of this new anti-Cuban maneuver, which the empire is trying to promote in the UN Security Council.

To support the manipulative actions of U.S. imperialism, which only seeks to squash the independent and sovereign will of a small people, who defend their rights with dignity, is the worst that can be done in favor of the common cause of Third World countries. They would be opening up roads for new aggressions by the great power. More than 100 underdeveloped countries that are fighting against poverty are hoping Cuba will resist and not be squashed. They will be pleased even if Cuba is left alone on the face of the earth.

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**Cuba: Commentary Views 'Brothers to the Rescue' Actions**

*PA2802041796 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Commentary by Roberto Morejon; from the "Evening Information Review" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The fact that many political groups in the United States are handling relations with Cuba as a domestic policy matter and the undeniable economic power of a segment of the extreme right-wing groups of Cuban origin based in the northern country are two elements that complicate even more the always tense relations between Havana and Washington.

Both elements are having an effect on the current crisis, which was unleased when the so-called Brothers to the Rescue repeated their incursions over Cuban airspace, thinking that this time the violation of Cuban sovereignty would go unpunished.

We are now in an election year in the United States and, as always happens in these cases, candidates and those in government in the United States are handling the Cuban case to attract votes from the Cuban-American community. Unfortunately, the Cuban community's sectors with the greatest financial resources and political influence have a recalcitrant, irrational, and pre—deluge political-ideological position.

Even though Brothers to the Rescue, which conducted the flights over Cuba and carried out the so-called flotillas, is not one of the noisiest groups, without a doubt it was determined to provoke an incident capable of igniting an escalation of U.S. attacks on Cuba.

Eduardo Gamarra, an Inter-American affairs specialist at the International University in Florida, admitted in Miami that Brothers to the Rescue continued its flights over Cuba despite the continuous warnings by the Federal Aviation Administration, the State Department, and Cuban authorities.

In fact, these types of interventionist air missions were repeated in the last few months, the first one on 13 July 1995, when two light planes entered Cuban airspace after accompanying a so-called boat flotilla with Cuban extremists.

Last January, other planes repeated the provocation, and one of them dropped subversive leaflets over the island's capital. Subsequent statements made by the masterminds of these flights never indicated a decision to abandon such maneuvers. The last maneuver was Saturday, 24 February, despite reiterated warnings made by the Cuban authorities to their U.S. counterparts about the seriousness of the incursions.

The violation of Cuban airspace and territorial waters by Miami mafia groups is in the context of constant attempts by several extremist groups to organize the deployment of terrorist commandos in Cuba. It is clear to everyone that what they could obtain from their terrorist and destabilizing plans was little or nothing, given the defensive system in effect in Cuba, which basically rests with the people's mobilization. It is, therefore, clear that the final objective of the mafiosos was to erode even more relations between the United States and Cuba, if their specific terrorist plans failed, as was to be expected.

**Cuba: Robaina Reacts to Remarks by U.S. Envoy to UN**

*PA2802014796 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0005 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[By Roberto Molina]

[FBIS Translated Text] United Nations, 27 Feb (PL) — Cuban Foreign Relations Minister Roberto Robaina today said that he requested the resumption of the UN General Assembly sessions to explain Cuba's version about the violation of its sovereignty.

Robaina addressed a group of correspondents who approached him at the halls of the UN building, exactly in front of the Security Council, where, earlier in the morning, a document was manipulated to intend to condemn Cuba, a document that his country did not accept.

The foreign minister pointed out that, after his arrival here, he held a meeting with Diego Freitas do Amaral, UN General Assembly president, and Marrack Goulding, UN under secretary in charge of political affairs, to whom he officially requested the resumption of the UN maximum security organization's sessions.

A meeting with the UN secretary general that had been previously requested could not take place, because Butrus Butrus-Ghali began last night a previously scheduled tour of Brazil and Mexico and because Robaina was only able to get here shortly after noon today.

The objective is to explain his country's standpoint, but not on the actions the Security Council addressed. The objective is to present all the arguments and evidence in the hands of Cuban authorities, Robaina added.

Currently, there is only talk about 24 February (when two pirate airplanes that violated the Cuban airspace were downed). There are no talks on a long list of background facts on these transgressions, on the warnings sent to U.S. authorities, and on the manner in which they have completely ignored all Cuban warnings, he underscored.

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This is why, he went on, we do not feel we have to justify ourselves; we simply explain the truth to the world, and when we have the truth, we have nothing to make up and say.

"I did not come here as an offender, because, in simple terms, the only one that has been provoked, the only one that has been attacked, the only one whose air and maritime space have been violated is our country," he stated.

Questioned on the statements made by U.S. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, UN Council president in February, that she felt honored to attend a meeting by this organization along with the Cuban foreign minister, he said that this honor comes after the case was closed.

This is how he alluded to the expedite sessions held for the presidency to adopt a statement to deplore Cuba's decision to down two pirate planes.

My government, Robaina explained, asked to participate in the meeting; however, it seems that, last night, there was more hastiness than honesty and today there is more honesty than hastiness. Nevertheless, I really have more confidence on other mechanisms, and, therefore, attending the Security Council is not among my intentions.

**Cuba: Raul Castro Views 'Campaign of Lies' Against Cuba**

*PA2802042896 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cubavision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Report by Mario Rivera and Marta Moreno; from the "NTV" Newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] Minister Army General Raul Castro has attended the Expanded Military Council of the Western Army. Raul assessed, together with participants, the campaign of lies unleashed against Cuba in the face of the downing of two pirate aircraft that violated our airspace.

At the same time the UN Security Council Consultative Committee was meeting at the request of the United States, the Military Council of the Western Army also met.

[Begin Castro recording] If they are unable to suffocate us economically and their plans fail, as the so-called Track Two will fail, what will be the option they have in the future? It sometimes seems that they are acting out of revenge, for what this country and this people have done.

Now and as long as imperialism exists, as (?Ernesto) once said, in the first congress of the party, the state, the party prepared [words indistinct] for the defense. And he concluded by saying that history has demonstrated that those who have not observed this principle do not survive [words indistinct] [end recording]

Cuba has irrefutable evidence, the FAR minister stated, on these violations, which our government reported on several occasions. Our government has even warned U.S. Government authorities about the consequences these violations of our national sovereignty may have.

Now they begin to orchestrate a new campaign of lies and threats against Cuba but, as always, these do not worry our people, who will never let themselves be surprised by their enemies, he affirmed.

The Expanded Military Council of the Western Army, led by Western Army Chief Division General Leopoldo Cintra Frias, analyzed the fulfillment of the six main tasks of the FAR, presented by Division General Samuel Rodiles, Western Army deputy chief.

The report highlights, among other aspects, the progress in the combat readiness and the production levels reached to self-supply the troops.

In 1995, more than 800,000 militiamen and members of the Production and Defense Brigades received military training. The production destined for self- supply ensures the food for the troops in most areas. Raul termed encouraging the 81 percent rate of troops treated with traditional medicine products.

At this hour, the combat readiness is evidenced in the satisfactory results of all indicators corroborated by the FAR Ministry. The FAR minister noted the importance of having visited in their homes, on two occasions in 1995, more than 90 percent of reservists and militiamen.

The construction of an additional 53 km in peoples tunnels was highlighted as an important event during the year in the Western Army's territory. It was also reported that 80.5 million [words indistinct] trees were planted.

The preservation of techniques and weaponry is evidenced in the 7.9 million pieces of equipment preserved.

Meanwhile, the Army reduced its dependency on the budget. To this end nearly 10.5 million pesos were voluntarily contributed by the people to pay for the MTT [Territorial Troops Militia] expenses.

Preventative hygienic measures and better living and working conditions have resulted in military discipline being rated as satisfactory. The Council also heard reports by Agriculture Minister Alfredo Jordan on new measures to store foodstuffs in cooperation with peasants, and to provide more direct attention to peasants. In

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addition, the Ministers of Finance and Prices, and of Interior Commerce, Manuel Millares and Barbara Castillo respectively, presented a report on the state of domestic finances and food production.

Vice President of Fisheries Enrique Ortuzi also commented on the progress of aquaculture in the Western Army's territory and comrade Pedro Campos, director of the La Conchita de Pinar del Rio Preserves and Vegetable Company, commented on management techniques in this company.

Finally, the results of the national drill for the preparation of the theater of military operations were reported, where Havana was rated as the best province.

Also present were Revolution Commander Juan Almeida; Division Generals Julio Casas, first deputy FAR minister, and Senen Casas, minister of transportation; the first secretaries of the party in the provinces of the Western Army's territory: Esteban Lazo, Candido Palmero, and Maria del Carmen Concepcion; and Roberto Garcia, first secretary of the party in Isle of Youth, in addition to other party and state leaders and high-ranking officials from the FAR and Ministry of the Interior.

**Cuba: Tourists, Residents Say 'All Is Calm' in Havana**

*PA2802040096 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cubavision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Report by Gladys Rubio in Havana; from the "NTV" newscast — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rubio] This is Havana at 1500 today. Tourists stroll along the square. Have you had any problems in Havana these days?

[Unidentified tourist, in Italian] No, no problem. All is calm. All is well.

[Rubio] Craftsmen attend their permanent fair. Those who are on vacation take a walk. Where did you go?

[Unidentified resident] Everywhere.

[Unidentified vendor] Here I am, working, selling drinks.

[Rubio] Neither tanks nor conflicts. This is a Havana that calmly waits for the truth to prevail.

**Cuba: Military Forces, Workers on Support for Government**

*PA2802035296 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cubavision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Report by Boris Fuentes in Villa Clara Province and Bernardo Espinoza in Ciego de Avila Province; from the "NTV" newscast — passages within quotation marks recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Throughout the country the people are stating their support for the position adopted by our government against the U.S. Administration's sovereignty, and they proclaim Cuba's right to defend its territory from counterrevolutionary raids.

Rallies were held at Air Force units of the FAR [Revolutionary Armed Forces] Central Army's brigade in Villa Clara Province territory today, to condemn the new violation of Cuban airspace. The events were attended by Air Force helicopter and fighter pilots, engineers, technicians, officers, soldiers, and FAR civilian workers.

[First unidentified speaker] "Comrades, I speak on behalf of our air units' pilots. We want to reassert our resolve to continue defending our sky, our coasts, and our land from any aggression because we want our land, sky, and coasts to continue to be as clean and pure as the lone star in our national flag. Fatherland or death! [crowd shouts: "We will win!"] [applause]

[Second unidentified speaker] "On behalf of the FAR, particularly on behalf of the soldiers in our unit, we want to reassert once more that we will let no one violate our sovereignty and, as soldiers, we will step forward — and die if necessary — to save the revolution, the homeland, and the achievements of socialism! Long live Fidel! [crowd shouts: "Viva!] Long live the revolution! [crowd shouts: "Viva!"]"

The improvised podium also included the participation of FAR civilian workers, engineers, and officers — who ratified once more their resolve to continue defending the achievements of the revolution at their workplaces.

Moreover, sugar mill workers in Ciego de Avila Province condemned the Cuban airspace violation and stated their support for the revolution in the current circumstance with higher productivity. Ecuador Mill is one of Ciego de Avila's three colossi. This Tuesday its workers obtained the largest production of refined sugar in a work day during this harvest, and they also reflected on the events which occurred on 24 February.

[First unidentified worker] "Just like that. Whoever comes here should prepare to pay the consequences.

[Second unidentified worker] "How many lives have we lost as a result of sabotage, in Barbados, and in countless sabotage actions? Have they said anything about the Cubans who have died? The counterrevolution there is one, only one; it has a thousand names, thousands of leaders, but it is only one — all they want is to wreck the achievements of the revolution.

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[Second unidentified worker] "The situation will be more tense now but, well, we will know how to react, and we will remain firm, without giving in to the situation.

[Third unidentified worker] "Well, the only thing I say is that the best reply we can give to U.S. imperialism is this — work."

**Cuba: 'Extensive Background' on Plane Downing**

*PA2802043096 Havana PRENSA LATINA in Spanish 0145 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] United Nations, 27 Feb (PL) — Cuban Foreign Relations Minister Roberto Robaina today explained that the downing of two pirate lightplanes that were flying over his country's territorial waters and airspace has an extensive background.

At an impromptu news conference held at one of the halls of the UN building, he added that his presence here is precisely to contribute to making the information on the 24 February incidents be complete and not manipulated.

The Cuban Air Force, he affirmed, has a long history of unlimited patience to report the repeated acts of violence against the sovereignty of the country, and what happened could have happened long time ago.

"All, absolutely all the evidence of how patient we were, of the many warnings we issued, and of many things that were violated is in our hands. I have to explain many things. However, I just arrived at the United Nations to be able to explain this through the established venues and channels," the minister pointed out.

He committed himself to keep the media informed on all his works and the meetings he will hold here.

Questioned on the report that a flotilla of vessels and airplanes is planning to go from Florida to the place where the pirate planes were downed, Robaina maintained that if it goes to that exact place, it will again be making the violation of entering Cuba's territorial waters and airspace.

The Cuban side's decision in this regard, he went on, has not changed, and even though we are not used to using a language of threats and even though we are not characterized for threatening anyone, I simply stress, on behalf of the Cuban Government and people, that we will never accept that our airspace and our sovereignty be violated again.

He added that it is not the first time that groups coming from this place and encouraged by authorities from this country have carried out this sort of actions, which Cuba patiently tolerated for a long time. However, now we had to respond to them.

He said: "I want to stress that the only reason for our presence at the United Nations, as opposed to what many believe, is to prove that we were attacked, that we were provoked, that our sovereignty was the one that was violated; therefore, I am not the accused, and I have many people to accuse."

He described as an incredibly fast process, the process of meetings at the Security Council that ended in the early hours of 27 February, following 16 hours of discussions, with the adoption of a document containing only the U.S. position.

I hope that this Council, which is the so-called Security Council, tends to all its pending matters with the same speed with which the so-called Cuban issue was tended, Minister Robaina underscored.

He said that it was very difficult to know what type of security a council that favors only one side offers.

"The only thing," he explained, "this Council is offering me is insecurity, and, therefore, it is not among my priorities to address absolutely anything with the Security Council."

Robaina announced that two meetings will be held today with the General Assembly president and the under secretary in charge of political affairs to explain Cuba's position and to officially request the resumption of the UN regular period of sessions to address everything Cuba wants to be known.

He affirmed that he arrived here to be able to explain what "the Security Council could not wait for; even though it knew that I was arriving today, it had to end last night at any cost."

He also said that it seems that this situation is influenced by the fact that those who preside the Security Council (the United States is occupying the post in February) are ending their term soon. He added, it is also incredible that these speedy decisions have to do with domestic electoral affairs.

Although the process to discuss an alleged case has been very expeditious, it is also incredible how long a (U.S.) visa took to be issued for me to be able to arrive here from Denmark; it is incredible that it could not be issued with the same speed with which the Council discussed the affair.

The foreign minister stated that this is a disadvantage stemming from the fact that he was traveling from Cuba to the United States. [as received]

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**Cuba: Alarcon Interviewed on Ties With U.S.**

*PY2802014896 Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 26 Feb 96 p 4*

[Interview with Ricardo Alarcon, Cuban "foreign policy articulator and official in charge of negotiating two recent agreements on immigration with the United States," by Sao Paulo University Professor Emir Sader in Havana "two weeks ago"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Sader] How would you describe the relations currently being enjoyed by Cuba and the United States?

[Alarcon] There is a mixture of positive and negative elements. The U.S. policy regarding Cuba had already been essentially defined before Clinton reached the presidency, and it was consubstantiated with the Torricelli Act (which called for a stricter U.S. blockade on Cuba). At the same time, however, there has been estrangement between the U.S. Government and the most aggressive sector of Cuban exiles living in Florida. This is particularly so because Clinton attacked one of the essential elements of the strategy against Cuba, which consisted of stimulating illegal immigration and manipulating this element as an instrument of agitation against Fidel Castro's regime. As a result of two agreements reached between Cuba and the United States, the Cuban exiles began to be treated just like other foreigners living in the United States.

[Sader] Are these agreements being complied with?

[Alarcon] There are still some small difficulties, but I don't know whether they occur only with Cubans or whether they are part of the normal functioning of the U.S. immigration institutions. GRANMA (the Cuban official newspaper) estimates that since May 1995, 280 Cubans have been returned to the island by the United States, after having tried to enter the country illegally. This number is much higher, however, when referring to immigrants coming from other countries. The United States expels thousands of people per day at each of the many posts along the Mexican border.

[Sader] Have the terms of bilateral relations between the two countries also been modified?

[Alarcon] We can say that there has been a difference in terms of language. For some time now, we have not seen a U.S. president use aggressive language against Cuba, as was commonly done during the Bush administration. Currently, the discourse is hostile, but the language is used professionally.

[Sader] Is free circulation to Cuba still forbidden?

[Alarcon] In a certain way, yes. The U.S. Pastors for Peace, who were bringing 300 second-hand computers for the Cuban hospitals, were forbidden to leave the United States. There are, however, many persons who come to Cuba unauthorized and there is no retaliation. Something quite different had occurred during the previous administrations.

[Sader] Are you convinced that relations between Cuba and the United States can only become normal during the second period in office of a U.S. president, when he is no longer worried about losing the votes of Cubans living in Florida? What are the possibilities of seeing this happen if Clinton is reelected?

[Alarcon] I believe there are many possibilities. Even if the electoral returns show that he did not win, we cannot exclude the possibility of seeing changes in U.S. policy toward Cuba. The U.S. entrepreneurs have been loosing business opportunities, while investments in Cuba and trade between our country and other nations have been increasing every year.

**Cuba: Council Dissident Receives 6-Month Prison Sentence**

*PA2702231496 Paris AFP in Spanish 0150 GMT 24 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Havana, 23 Feb (AFP) — It was disclosed that today, Leonel Morejon Almaguer, a member of the dissident organization Cuban Council, received in Havana a jail sentence of six months on charges of resisting and showing disrespect to the Police Forces.

This dissident is the second one sentenced in the past 24 hours after the authorities banned the constitutive congress of the Cuban Council, which was scheduled to be held in Havana from 24 to 27 February.

The Prosecutor General's Office asked for an 18-month prison sentence for the dissident, who was charged with failing to identify himself and resisting arrest.

On Thursday, Lazaro Gonzalez was sentenced to 14 months in prison on similar charges.

According to Cuban official sources, cited by PRENSA LATINA, Leonel Morejon and Lazaro Gonzalez are "the only two dissidents tried and sentenced by the courts, in spite of the propaganda campaign abroad that speaks of the existence of a wave of repression in Cuba."

Referring to reports by dissident or U.S. sources giving an account of tens of arrests, the Cuban sources stressed that on Thursday, several prominent dissidents, including Gustavo Arcos, Elizardo Sanchez Santa Cruz, and Vladimiro Roca, met freely in Havana with a U.S. delegation currently visiting Cuba.

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The banned meeting sought to formally constitute the Cuban Council, a coalition of 130 dissident movements.

## Haiti

### Haiti: Parliament Ratifies Smarth as Prime Minister

*PA2802004896 Paris AFP in Spanish*
*2338 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Port-au-Prince, 27 Feb (AFP) — The Haitian Senate today ratified in Port-au-Prince, by a vote of 16 to 19, the appointment of Rony Smarth, a 55-year-old agricultural economist, as the new prime minister. New Haitian President Rene Preval had proposed Smarth's appointment.

Shortly thereafter, the Chamber of Deputies also approved Smarth's appointment by 44 votes in favor and four abstentions.

Prior to taking over his post, the new prime minister must obtain a vote of confidence from the Parliament, which is made up by two separate chambers (the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies), for his general policy speech.

An informed source said that Smarth must deliver his general policy speech by this weekend.

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**Mexico: Envoy to U.S. Responds to Letter From Dole**

*PA2702145096 Mexico City XEW Television Network in Spanish 0400 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[From the "24 Hours" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] In a communique addressed to U.S. Senator Robert Dole, datelined Washington D.C., Ambassador to the United States Jesus Silva Herzog has told Dole, among other things: It is both unjust and false to state as you have done in your letter that Mexico has registered a pattern of indifference toward and even open complicity to drug trafficking. It is also excessive to contend that the attorney general of the republic has confirmed that some of his key prosecutors have been on the payroll of the drug cartels. Obviously, these remarks are based on false information and, unfortunately, are based on the campaign of misinformation launched against Mexico in recent months. With all due respect, I would like to point out that political positions with a view to short-term achievements are counterproductive to the optimum, long-term development of our countries.

This is what Mexican Ambassador to Washington Jesus Silva Herzog has told Senator Dole.

**Mexico: Official Communique on U.S.-Cuba Incident**

*PA2802031096 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 27 Feb 96 pp 1, 8*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Mexican Government has urged Cuba and the United States to find a prompt solution to their conflict through dialogue and negotiation, strictly adhering to international law.

A Foreign Secretariat communique issued last night stressed Mexico's deep concern over the dispute between the two countries, with which Mexico maintains close relations in all fields.

The text of the communique is as follows:

The Mexican Government expresses its deepest concern over the climate of tension generated between the United States of America and the Republic of Cuba due to the downing of two U.S.-registered light planes.

This situation represents a grave danger for peace and stability in our closest geographic area and contributes to a greater estrangement between two neighboring countries, with which Mexico maintains close relations in all fields. Therefore, Mexico urges the governments of Havana and Washington to find a prompt solution to this dispute through dialogue and negotiation, strictly adhering to international law. The Mexican Government trusts that, through these means, it will be possible to reestablish a climate favorable to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region. [passage omitted]

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## Costa Rica

### Costa Rica: President on Work With U.S. on Drugs, Crime

*PA2702223596 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1834 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] San Jose, 27 Feb (ACAN-EFE) — Costa Rican President Jose Maria Figueres said today that both Costa Rica and the United States are to fight drug trafficking and international crime, particularly car thefts.

Figueres returned last night to San Jose from San Salvador, where he took part, together with his colleagues from Honduras, Carlos Roberto Reina, and Armando Calderon Sol from El Salvador, in a meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Figueres described the meeting as "frank and productive" and stressed the U.S. willingness to offer parity with Central America on the benefits afforded to Mexico through NAFTA.

"This is going to allow us to be more competitive," Figueres said, commenting that the textiles, clothing, shoes, and products manufactured in Central America will not pay a series of taxes if the U.S. Congress approves the bill.

Figueres stressed that the meeting with Christopher achieved agreements on citizens' security and the struggle against area drug trafficking bound for the United States.

### Costa Rica: Nation 'Lamented' Downing of Aircraft

*PA2702204896 Paris AFP in Spanish 1636 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] San Jose, 27 Feb (AFP) — Costa Rica today "deplored" the repeated violations of Cuban airspace and also lamented the downing of two civilian aircraft by Cuban fighters during the weekend.

In a communique, the Costa Rican Foreign Ministry "deplored the use of excessive force" against the civilian aircraft, which were downed on Saturday. These were planes "that were unarmed and did not constitute a threat to Cuba's territorial integrity or its government's well-being."

The Costa Rican Foreign Ministry "deplores the repeated violations of Cuban airspace by some groups of Cuban exiles, with clearly provocative purposes on some occasions and tragic results on others. These are violations that do not at all contribute to Cuba's democratization, but aggravate the relations between the Cuban Government and its neighbors."

After predicting a "prompt clarification" of the incident, the Costa Rican Government "appeals to common sense, so that the regrettable events of the past weekend do not become factors which, although used for electoral purposes in some countries, could ultimately lead to more events that can even further complicate the delicate situation in Cuba."

## El Salvador

### El Salvador: Ecological Group Sends Letter to Christopher

*PA2802045596 San Salvador CO LATINO in Spanish 26 Feb 96 p 9*

["Open Letter" to U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher by the Salvadoran Ecological Unity, UNES, issued in San Salvador on 26 February 1996]

[FBIS Translated Text] Salvadoran Ecological Unity [Unidad Ecologica Salvadorena — UNES]

Open letter to Mr. Warren Christopher, secretary of state of the United States.

Mr. Christopher:

The Salvadoran Ecological Unity, UNES, wishes you a fruitful stay in our country.

We write to you to share our concerns over the ecological crisis El Salvador is suffering, the risks that the crisis may worsen, and the implications for the government you represent.

Regrettably the peace agreements, in which your government played a special role, neglected the environmental situation (subjected to our country's economic structure and model) which is reaching close to irreversible levels, and the deterioration of which is a limitation to any development plan or program.

The deterioration of the material living conditions, mainly in rural areas, the lack of employment, the low agricultural and livestock production, the lack of food resources, energy, water, sanitation, education, to name the priority problems, force Salvadorans to leave rural areas and increase slums in urban areas, from which stem the flow of "wetbacks" ["mojados"] to your country.

Mr. Christopher, the piles of trash, the "smog" and the noise in San Salvador, the vehicle traffic mess, the low level of rivers, the soils eroded and in the process of desertification, the lack of vegetation, the foul smell of water coming out of water faucets, even the lack of intelligent proposals from our leaders to ecological problems, are related to the policies that you promote.

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The World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank, and the AID, in spite of the fact they talk about sustained development and sometimes human development, continue to finance multi-million projects that destroy our ecological patrimony and worsen the environmental crisis we are talking about.

The U.S. administration must demand an environmental audit that study the environmental impact caused by the projects your government finances for ANDA [National Administration of Waterworks and Sewers], CEL [Lempa River Hydroelectric Executive Commission], MOP [Ministry of Public Works], MAG [Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock], among other institutions; in addition, the Salvadoran Government must justify its complicity with the voracity of large construction companies that receive permits from official offices to destroy the forest without taking into consideration the damage to the environment.

You must ask the government why isn't there yet a legislation that protects the deteriorated Salvadoran environment, in addition to the budget calamity affecting the Executive Secretariat of the Environment. This agency does not operate effectively and can only place a green cover over the predators of the environment, which disguise their businesses under the denomination of sustainable development.

Mr. Christopher, your government can really contribute to revert the serious environmental deterioration of our country.

Taking into consideration that reverting a predatory behavior is not easy, although you had the political will to do so, we inform you of the following so that you take sides with the defense of the Salvadoran environment.

1. You must demand that the Salvadoran Government promulgate a legislation to protect the environment, which includes a participative and democratic environmental management system; this system must establish penalties or incentives and must be in keeping with the Declaration of Principles adopted at the Rio de Janeiro Summit in 1992.

2. We agree with the fact the U.S. Department of State makes the export of Salvadoran shrimp conditional upon the protection of the sea turtle. However, it is necessary to review the commercial treaties that require processes, that are clean and do not contaminate, from agricultural exporters, industrialists, etc. In addition, the projects you will finance must require objective and serious environmental impact studies, not biased and corrupted studies as is customary.

3. The Salvadoran Government should not use the Executive Secretariat of the Environment to benefit the interests of large businessmen who voraciously destroy the environment in El Salvador. Instead, it must strengthen environmental authority giving it the rank of a ministry and the election of its director should consider the views of society and receive the approval of the Legislative Assembly.

Finally, we demand that your government adopt concrete actions to prevent that a secondary forest, located a few meters away from the U.S. Embassy and considered the last lung in the metropolitan region, be destroyed by the Poma and Duenas families, and that the El Espino Farm be declared an ecological patrimony of the nation, thereby preserving intact its 1,260 manzanas of area, as demanded by most residents of San Salvador.

Although overseeing the protection of the environment in our country is not the purpose of your visit and knowing this letter does not follow regular protocol channels, we hope you take note of our concerns.

Sincerely,

The Salvadoran Ecological Unity,

[Signed] Dr. Angel Maria Ibarra, President

[Signed] Eng. Mauricio Sermeno, Vice President.

San Salvador, 26 February 1996

**El Salvador: Commentary Analyzes Christopher Visit**

*PA2702220096 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 27 Feb 96*

["Our Commentary" segment of the "YSU Radio News" newscast read by unidentified announcer: "Christopher Asks for Compliance With Peace Accords"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In his speeches yesterday, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher urged compliance with the final points of the peace accords, while reasserting his government's willingness to provide economic aid for the country. Christopher and Foreign Minister Ramon Gonzalez Giner signed the extension of a cooperation agreement for $10 million, destined to finance key issues in the accords.

The words of praise that the secretary of state had for the local process, to the extent of describing it as a source of inspiration for the world, place our country's authorities under an obligation to successfully complete the accords. The high-ranking official clearly believed that the country faces the challenges of strengthening the legal system and institutions created under the accords. The struggle against corruption and crime, the protection of the environment, and putting an end to poverty are some of the other tasks he suggested.

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The United States, as a member of the group of friendly countries, advocates the construction of a democracy on stronger foundations that allow sustainable development in the region. It is clear that the United States is not about to tolerate corruption, drug trafficking, and other scourges that destroy societies. The Central American presidents are clearly aware of the problems, and they asked the secretary of state to advocate trade with the region on an equal basis regarding preferences with the Free Trade Agreement signatory countries.

In conclusion, Christopher's visit reflects the U.S. interest in the region, because it is convinced that it is better to consolidate democratic processes rather than to see societies divided and in crisis.

**El Salvador: Review of Reasons for Christopher Visit**

*PA2802004996 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY in Spanish 26 Feb 96 p 17*

[Editorial: "It Is Necessary To Redraw U.S. Policy Toward Central America"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are various reasons behind U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit to El Salvador, which is part of an extensive tour through the hemisphere. Plans are to discuss the peace process, the fight against crime, and the distribution of lands for demobilized individuals, as well as to review the incorporation of the Central American countries into the free trade agreements between the United States and Mexico.

Christopher, we are told, wants to express his government's support for "the exemplary manner in which the peace agreements have been implemented." It has certainly been an achievement, but at a huge cost for the country, in which its development, the institutions inherent to a state of law, and the country's social stability have been adversely affected.

The current situation on the isthmus is the result of the policies of the former Carter administration toward Central America, which directly or indirectly caused the 15-year-old war in El Salvador, Nicaragua's fall into communism, and the conflict in Guatemala. Despite the Reagan Republican victory in 1980, the basic guidelines are maintained to this day. No one thought Central Americans would send the United States the bill for the disaster in the form of massive illegal immigration.

The hope is that Secretary Christopher's arrival will set in motion the necessary and fundamental corrections, which on this occasion can be inspired by the noble moral and legal tradition of the United States. It is necessary to review the peace process because of its unpredictable and pernicious consequences. Besides, it is necessary to encourage the full installation of a market economy in the region, which is the only thing that offers any hope of attaining a greater degree of development.

The "peace process" involves many things; however, it is not a model to be applied in other conflicts as the United Nations intends. It was characterized by a rude political game, where the parties directly involved served as peons to promote interests that were foreign to our country.

## Guatemala

**Guatemala: Arzu Terms U.S. Decision on Cuba 'Deplorable'**

*PA2802043396 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2349 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Mexico City, 27 Feb (NOTIMEX) — Guatemalan President Alvaro Arzu today termed as deplorable and inappropriate the U.S. Government's decision to strengthen the economic blockade against Cuba after the island's Air Force shot down two small airplanes.

In a short interview following a private meeting with members of the Mexican Businessmen's Council for International Affairs (CEMAI), the Guatemalan president said it is necessary to analyze "the crux of the matter" and prevent the adoption of extreme measures.

He considered that "more civilized formulas" must be sought so nations may reach an agreement without threatening the people.

The Cuban Air Force shot down two of three Cessna airplanes that entered its territory on Saturday, although the U.S. Government insists the incident occurred in international waters.

The Guatemalan president explained he is in Mexico to discuss trade issues rather than political issues, but he believes Latin American countries must come out in Cuba's defense.

Arzu's statements were made before traveling to the Mexican southeast, where he thanked the governors of Campeche, Chiapas, and Quintana Roo for the support given to approximately 100,000 Guatemalans who fled their country due to an internal war.

The Mexican Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have offered support and care to the Guatemalans who settled in these states more than 15 years ago.

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President Arzu announced that more refugees will return to their country in a matter of days.

Meanwhile, Jacobo Zaindenweber, president of CEMAI's bilateral commission, reported that the consolidation of free trade between Mexico and the Central American nation was discussed in the private meeting with President Arzu.

Zaindenweber believes that some points of the Free Trade Agreement, which the so-called Northern Triangle — comprised of Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador — seeks to achieve with Mexico in a short term, could be consolidated in approximately 40 days.

The Guatemalan president will return to his country this afternoon, after concluding a visit to Mexico that began on Saturday and that also included a meeting with the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) command.

The Guatemalan Government and the URNG have been involved in negotiations since 1991 to settle an internal military conflict that has cost the lives of at least 175,000 persons in 35 years. The peace talks take place on Mexican territory.

## Nicaragua

### Nicaragua: Government Notes 'Lament' Over Downing

*PA2702200096 Managua Sistema Nacional Television Network in Spanish 0130 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[From the "National Newscast" — passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Through Deputy Foreign Minister Alvaro Sevilla, Nicaragua has lamented the incident in which Cuban fighters downed two U.S. light planes:

[Sevilla] "We lament the incident and wish it had never occurred, because priceless human lives have been lost."

Deputy Alfredo Cesar, a member of the assembly's Foreign Relations Committee, has said it is necessary first to establish whether the incident took place over international or Cuban waters:

[Cesar] "If the incident took place over international waters, the United Nations and Security Council must intervene very seriously. If the incident happened over Cuban territorial waters, the treatment must be different, because it would deal with human rights and a political solution to Cuba's problem."

According to experts, the incident could aggravate the embargo against Cuba:

[Unidentified speaker] "It is truly regrettable that the incident happened at a time when the trend, which we all are trying to push through Central American presidents and various parliaments, is to seek a way out of the Cuban conflict by establishing democracy by peaceful means. The incident can have truly disastrous consequences for this type of purpose."

In a press note, the Nicaraguan Government criticized the downing of the two U.S. civilian light planes by Cuban Air Force fighters over the Florida Straits, where four people died on 24 February, a deplorable event which does not contribute to detente in the relations between the two countries. In addition, the note states:

The Nicaraguan Government, interested in preserving international peace, appeals to the forethought of the involved parties to avoid further incidents. We are pleased the matter has been taken for discussion to the UN Security Council, which will have to make a pronouncement over the matter. [Dated] Managua, 26 February 1996.

## Panama

### Panama: Nation Urges 'Prudence' Following Downing

*PA2702222196 Panama City LA PRENSA in Spanish 27 Feb 96 p 2A*

[Report by Manuel Alvarez Cedeno and Jose Quintero De Leon]

[FBIS Translated Text] The downing of two light planes that overflew the coasts of Cuba might trigger a dangerous escalation of tensions, which is the reason why yesterday the Panamanian Government recommended "prudence" in the handling of this situation.

Two Cessna light planes of the Florida-based anti-Castro group "Brothers to the Rescue," were downed by Cuban fighter planes, which led to the condemnation of this action and the announcement of reprisals by Washington.

In a communique the Panamanian Foreign Ministry indicated that it had asked its ambassadors in Havana and Washington for "a detailed report" on the incident in order to make a more thorough assessment of the situation.

However, it warned that the incident might lead to a dangerous deterioration of the situation, "with unpredictable results for the peace, security, and stability of the region."

President Ernesto Perez Balladares' administration warned "on the serious situation that has emerged, the reason why we should bear in mind the value of understanding and peaceful communication among

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the states, with the purpose of reaching harmony in international relations."

We must face "the problems with prudence and common sense, so as to preclude more serious difficulties and limitations to the peoples of the region in their political, economic, and social development," it stated.

Meanwhile, the Cuban Embassy in Panama disclosed a communique issued by the Cuban Foreign Ministry indicating that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher is lying when he claims that the light planes were not overflying Cuban airspace.

"The least we can say about Christopher is that he is lying cynically and the words he uses are reminiscent of the words used by ranking officials of various U.S. Administrations for more than 36 years," the communique from Havana indicates.

In the meantime, Julio Yao, international law professor at the University of Panama, said that the "although the downing of the two light planes is regrettable, it is understandable as it occurred within the bounds of Cuban territory."

Analyzing the incident, Yao maintains that the light planes were not conducting an innocent passage, but were engaging in acts of aggression and intervention when they dropped fliers calling for an uprising against the Cuban Government.

According to Yao, international law does not allow a state to offer its territory as a platform for intervention and aggression against another state, and adds that this is what happened and has been happening for decades.

"The United States authorizes all sorts of operations against Cuba from U.S. airports," Yao noted.

Therefore, he said that the United States has no authority whatsoever to ask that Cuba be condemned "or to rend its garments" on behalf of international law.

Yao recalls that in the period 1988-89, in addition to the invasion, the United States violated thousands of times Panama's airspace — as well as its land, sea, river, and lake jurisdictions — with fully armed aircraft, and neither the UN Security Council nor the International Civil Aviation Organization said anything about it.

**Panama: President Assesses U.S.-Cuban Situation**

*PA2702205196 Panama City Telemetro Television Network in Spanish 1730 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[From the "Telemetro Reports" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Relations between Cuba and the United States have caught international attention and that of Panamanian President Ernesto Perez Balladares as well. Mirna Ortega has asked him about this subject.

After the Cuban Government warned it is not afraid of and does not accept any U.S. threats and after relations between the two countries became strained after two lightplanes of an anti-Castro group were downed, President Perez Balladares expressed his own opinion on the situation:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Even if you would have liked to discuss something else, would you please assess the situation between Cuba and the United States?

[Perez Balladares] We have remained constantly abreast of the situation. I am trying to determine the allegations of the two sides. In principle, the incident is unfortunate. We hope the temperature can remain not only where it is but be reduced rather than raised.

I think the downing of two civilian aircraft represents an excessively strong reaction. I am trying to determine whether international law was violated. I have been informed that the Chicago Convention, which created the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization], forbids the shooting down of civilian aircraft regardless of the circumstance; in other words, from an international law viewpoint, there is no justification for downing civilian aircraft even if they have violated Cuban airspace. [end recording]

Perez Balladares has declined to comment on the U.S. Government's plan to intensify the embargo yet has commented on other aspects of this incident:

[Begin Perez Balladares recording] We are trying to determine what were the circumstances of the incident. [end recording]

The Cuban Foreign Ministry has described U.S. President Clinton's measures as absurd and contradictory and has insisted in a communique that there are no grounds for penalizing Cuba.

**Panama: Government Says 'No Valid Excuse' for Downing**

*PA2802004796 Panama City Circuito RPC Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[From the "RPC Television News" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Panamanian Government deplores the shooting down of two small and defenseless civilian aircraft by the Cuban Air Force near that Caribbean country.

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A communique from the Foreign Ministry states that there is no valid excuse not to respect international law and the rules that govern human rights.

The Foreign Ministry note adds that nothing can justify resorting to the use of force in relations between men, much less in affairs that threaten a peaceful coexistence and international security.

The Foreign Ministry communique issues an appeal for reflection on the value of tolerance, moderation, and wisdom in maintaining an increasingly safer and more peaceful world.

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## Argentina

### Argentina: Fishing, Oil Topics To Be Discussed With UK

*PY2702204596 Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 25 Feb 96 p 7*

[FBIS Translated Text] On 28 and 29 February, there will be two meetings in Buenos Aires to discuss two Malvinas Islands related issues that are considered of very great economic importance.

On the first day, representatives will discuss the issue of fishing in the South Atlantic, and on the second day, the question of oil exploration will be viewed.

"I think conditions are still not appropriate for a fishing agreement," Foreign Policy Under Secretary Guillermo Gonzalez told LA NACION.

The official said that during this meeting, representatives will start seeking points of agreement that might become concrete items in future meetings.

Officials are more optimistic about the 29 February meeting on oil exploration because both parties have already reached an agreement in this area. What representatives are looking for now is "the meat" in the structure that was approved, as Foreign Ministry Malvinas Director Luis Mendiola defined it.

On 29 February negotiating teams presided over by Gonzalez and his British counterpart William Marsden, plus other diplomats, technicians, and jurists, will establish the South Atlantic Hydrocarbons Commission and will study the commission's regulations and work methods.

During this exchange of opinions, Argentine officials expect to be briefed on the Malvinas Islands unilateral call for biddings to explore inside the conflict zone. Five Argentine companies participated in this bidding.

In these zones Argentine companies might own up to 49 percent of the benefits.

The climax of the one-day meeting will be the discussion on how to handle the bidding for exploration in the Special Cooperation Zone where both parties participate with 50 percent.

The 17,500 sq km Special Cooperation Zone's closest point to the continent is 300 km away, while the closest point to the islands is only 100 miles away.

In any case, it is anticipated that most of the industrial activity derived from the drilling and extraction will be carried out in the Patagonian Region and only 30 percent of it in the islands.

This division is the result of the islanders' opposition to the possibility of modifying their customs as a consequence of the presence in the islands of hundreds of workers during their off-duty days. On the continent, however, there is no opposition to absorbing the technical and industrial activities needed for offshore exploration. Besides, there is capacity to look after the human, social, and sanitary demands of the personnel dedicated to the task.

### Argentina: Corach on Political, Government Reforms

*96SM0111A Buenos Aires LA NACION in Spanish 11 Feb 96 p 13*

[Interview with Interior Minister Carlos Corach by Atilio Cadorin; place and date not given; first paragraph is LA NACION introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] The controversial electoral system is going to be abolished; there will be openness in party funding. Minister Carlos Corach expressed great enthusiasm about the political reform, which must come about through the cooperation of all.

[Cadorin] Mr. Minister, can you clarify what the much talked about political reform is about?

[Corach] I want to place the reform in the appropriate context. The transforming revolution that Menem began in 1989 was aimed, first of all, at a structural transformation of the Argentina economy; it continued with constitutional reform and is now taking up political reform.

[Cadorin] That is fine, but what exactly is this political reform?

[Corach] We call it political reform because its main objective is to transform, modernize, and make efficient the structures governing the country's political and institutional life. It involves four main elements: federalism, the municipalities, reform of the laws governing political parties, and reforms of electoral laws.

[Cadorin] This sounds like the announcement. But what is involved in these elements?

[Corach] The economic transformation of 1995 focused on straightening out the provinces' finances, and this will continue in 1996 so as to put their budgets in order so that they can be balanced and managed with complete independence. We all know that for decades the provinces had to traipse through the corridors of the central government looking for economic assistance not for public works but just to pay salaries. This is why the concept of federalism became discredited. We

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are redesigning federalism so that this does not happen again.

[Cadorin] What about the municipalities?

[Corach] In this case we are talking about intensifying administrative and executive decentralization by giving the municipalities authority through autonomy, which we also incorporated into the 1994 constitutional reform. However, the main point seems to be a reform of the operations of the political parties. Here there are question marks such as party funds, the new forms of communication, and the greater or lesser openness of political activity.

[Cadorin] What are we talking about when we discuss reforming the political parties law?

[Corach] Modernizing political parties and adapting them to the times. Political parties ought to be places where leaders are trained and developed and where a hierarchy exists for people's involvement.

[Cadorin] There is one question that needs to be answered: how will political parties be financed under this reform?

[Corach] This is crucial, fundamental. The financing of political parties must be more open. The West has been jolted by political corruption scandals having to do with party financing.

[Cadorin] In recent days Gustavo Beliz described it more or less as the black hand of a corrupt government. Are you going to respond to this?

[Corach] No, I do not think it is worth it. This is an insignificant point compared to the important issue that we are discussing. This is why I wanted to bring up the financing of political parties, which today have to defray expenses that previously were not even considered. The funding that political campaigns require often forces the parties to turn to private companies because public financing is insufficient, and this at times creates conditions that are not altogether clear-cut. What we want to do is make the handling of political monies open.

[Cadorin] That is fine, but how is it done?

[Corach] I have one specific idea: under the law, financing must be public, open, and adequate.

[Cadorin] Could you be more specific?

[Corach] Yes. Public means it must come from public funds. Open, in other words, it has to be in the budget. And adequate, because it has to be enough to train political leaders. I did some calculations myself and found that 0.3 or 0.4 percent of the national budget could finance the activities of all political parties. But this is not the opinion of the administration. The administration does not have an opinion. It is my personal viewpoint.

[Cadorin] OK, that leaves the electoral system. What is the thinking here?

[Corach] The aim is to bring voters closer to their representatives, to get rid of the list of candidates, and to balance local and national interests. The elimination of the list of candidates is going to allow people to reward or punish their leaders more directly.

[Cadorin] Does the administration have a specific bill for all this?

[Corach] No. The proper approach is to begin the debate, from which what is best for society will gradually emerge.

[Cadorin] Has the administration decided to eliminate the list of candidates?

[Corach] Yes it has. There is a consensus. But this political reform needs a high degree of consensus; it is not enough for one party to do it. The president has called on everyone to promote the debate so that the reform is the product of society, not of one administration or one party.

[Cadorin] Will Menem run in 1999?

[Corach] No.

[Cadorin] Are you so sure?

[Corach] Menem is not going to run in 1999. Those of us who worked for his reelection in 1995 are not going to work for a 1999 Menem campaign.

[Cadorin] The only way you could be that certain is if the president gave some indication that we are unaware of. Did the president give such an indication or express such an intention?

[Corach] Ask him. But just as in 1992 and 1993 I said that we would do whatever we could to reelect President Menem, and you did not believe me, I am telling you today that Menem will not run in 1999.

[Cadorin] Without wanting to cause a confrontation, would Menem ever allow Duhalde to be the candidate who succeeds him?

[Corach] The president put it very clearly: the candidate is going to emerge from open primaries.

[Cadorin] Any comments about the party congress?

[Corach] It was a very fine party congress.

[Cadorin] Of course, what else would you tell me....

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[Corach] Allow me to continue. We showed our society that Peronism, which has more than 3 million affiliates, has high levels of participation, a fine process of internal democratization....

[Cadorin] There are those who say that Peronism is authoritarian.

[Corach] No, that is a lie. This is the older view of Justicialism as an authoritarian party. But I do not think that it is fair any more to keep asking us to prove that we are a democratic party, particularly after the defeat in 1993. Back then, instead of blaming each other, we got down and analyzed what we had done wrong, and there was a major internal battle to democratize the party.

[Cadorin] But there were those who threatened to leave the party during the congress.

[Corach] You yourselves saw that that was a tiny minority. This does not mean that minorities should not exist. Minorities should exist and be respected. But majorities must also be respected.

[Cadorin] Political activity is held in widespread discredit. As a minister in this sphere, do you think this is justified?

[Corach] I have reviewed political history. There may be evil politicians, there may be corrupt politicians, these being traits that can be found in many other activities as well. But I am proud to be a politician. Thousands of individuals have fought in the political arena, losing elections, losing money, encountering troubles in their professional lives, and some have been thrown in jail or ostracized. Perhaps one percent of these thousands of people got to hold public office. And the majority of this one percent consists of decent people, while maybe a minimal proportion are evil politicians. This is why I do not think that politicians can be judged as a class. The accusations of corruption during Peron's first two administrations were legion, but no one remembers Angel Gabriel Borlenghi, who died poor, forgotten, and in exile. Or Ramon Castillo, who died in poverty in Brazil. And what about the great presidents like Peron, Arturo Illia, Arturo Frondizi, or Raul Alfonsin himself. Besides accusations, we need to acknowledge the people who deserve recognition for their political activity.

## Brazil

### Brazil: Christopher's Agenda Still 'Being Prepared'

*PY2702130296 Sao Paulo GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 23 Feb 96 Memo Section p 3*

[Article by Janes Rocha: "Christopher Visits Cardoso"]

[FBIS Translated Text] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will make his first official visit to Latin America on a diplomatic mission from 25 February to 4 March. He is scheduled to visit five countries (Brazil, Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, and Trinidad and Tobago). In Brazil, Christopher will visit Brasilia — where he is scheduled to meet with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso — Sao Paulo, and Manaus.

Christopher's agenda is still being prepared. Through the press office of the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia, acting State Department spokesperson Glyn Davies has reported, however, that the secretary's visit is designed "to underscore the significance attached by the United States to its relations with Latin American and Caribbean countries. This is an opportunity to demonstrate the U.S. permanent commitment to democracy and to economic reforms in the western hemisphere and to study the means to promote our regional objectives and common policies."

Christopher has served as head of the State Department in Washington since 1993 and had made short visits to Mexico and Haiti to attend OAS meetings.

### Brazil: Christopher To Discuss Antinarcotics Effort

*PY2802020596 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 24 Feb 96 p 8*

[Article by Hugo Marques and Cristiane Junghlut]

[FBIS Translated Text] Caxias do Sul (Rio Grande do Sul) and Brasilia — Brazil will sign an unprecedented agreement with the DEA to track planes that enter and leave the country clandestinely with drugs and weapons. Justice Minister Nelson Jobim confirmed to O GLOBO on 23 February that the joint operations will probably begin in June, after a series of understandings are reached with the U.S. Government, but always establishing that the operations will be conducted under the command of the Brazilian authorities.

The Justice Ministry will intensify the antinarcotics effort in the Amazon Region, beginning in March. An emergency plan to reinforce police control in the region is being drafted by the Ministries of Justice and Aeronautics, which will grant logistical support and also participate in the operations with equipment, planes, and helicopters.

The operations will coincide with similar actions conducted by neighboring countries such as Venezuela and Colombia, which are participating in an antinarcotics program headed by the United States. On 26 February, Brazilian officials will meet with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher to discuss cooperation between the two countries.

Minister Jobim said: We will work with the DEA in order to establish a way of cooperating in the area

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of intelligence, particularly regarding the detection of planes and ways of stopping them.

**Planes Carrying Drugs and Weapons Are Out of Control**

According to Jobim, there are no statistics about the number of planes that carry weapons and drugs over Brazilian territory. He said that estimates, which have mentioned some 200 planes per day, are uncertain.

Brazil has made clear that it will continue to participate in antinarcotics programs, but as a cooperating partner and not as a subordinate. Minister Jobim asserted that the command of all actions conducted in Brazilian territory will be under the responsibility of national administration. Outside the borders, however, the DEA will inform the country to which a plane has flown illegally, after having received the information in Brazil.

Planalto Palace advisers have explained that in Brazil the antinarcotics effort is conducted by the civilian forces, using the logistical support and infrastructure of the military area. In his meeting with Brazilian officials, Christopher will establish the date on which the new director of U.S. national drug control policy, Barry McCaffrey, will come to Brazil. The objective of his visit is to intensify cooperation between the two countries.

There will also be cooperation in the control of ports, which are another entrance gate for drugs and weapons. A group of U.S. military officers will teach a course on coastal patrol operations for Brazilian forces.

It is an exhcange of experiences, particularly in the areas where Brazil does not have great control, such as the ports, Milton Seligman, who is the Justice Ministry executive secretary, said.

New things are also occurring in the southern region of the country. Agents of the Brazilian and Paraguayan Federal Police will be able to cross the two countries' borders in order to fight drug trafficking. Vicente Chelotti, director general of the Brazilian Federal Police, met in Paraguay with General Tomaz Centurion, head of the Antidrug Secretariat, which is comprised of military officers and agents of the Paraguayan National Police. This secretariat is directly linked to the Paraguayan Presidency of the Republic. A cooperation agreement contemplating the exchange of information and joint operations to fight drug trafficking has been signed.

**Brazil: Correspondent Views Christopher's Visit**

*PY2702150096 Sao Paulo AGENCIA ESTADO in Portuguese 2256 GMT 25 Feb 96*

[By correspondent Paulo Sotero]

[FBIS Translated Text] Washington, 25 Feb (AE) — During the first weeks of 1977, the then assistant secretary of state of the recently inaugurated President Jimmy Carter visited Brazil bringing two strong messages for the government of General Ernesto Geisel. Washington had serious reservations on the nuclear program that the Brazilian military regime was then developing, and would do all in its power to hinder the nuclear agreement that Brazil signed with Germany.

Furthermore, the U.S. Government criticized the human rights violations that regime agents committed against opposition members. The visit to Brasilia by the high-ranking U.S. official marked the beginning of a period of deterioration of relations between Brazil and the United States for almost 15 years. That official was Warren Christopher.

This week, Christopher will pay a three-day visit to Brazil, during which he will lunch with entrepreneurs, make a tourist visit to the Amazon region, and sign a nuclear cooperation agreement that permits the sale and purchase of fissionable material for peaceful purposes. At Planalto Palace, he will meet President Cardoso, a senior opposition member who was harassed by the military regime and who, after being elected president, transformed the preservation of human rights into a priority concern for the Brazilian Government.

From the U.S. viewpoint, Christopher's visit to Brazil reaffirms U.S. interest in its relations with a democratic, economically stable Brazil that is more actively engaged on the international arena. Christopher will also explore the possibilities of cooperation created by the new dialogue in which the two countries have engaged since Fernando Henrique Cardoso's advent to power. The only pending topic — among those of the old conflict — is the protection of intellectual property rights, which is being unhurriedly studied in Congress. An official source has said the conversations at Itamaraty and Planalto Palace "will cover all bilateral issues."

Alexander Watson, outgoing assistant secretary of state for Latin American affairs, who will accompany Christopher in his tour of five countries which began in El Salvador today, said the visit to the region by the chief of U.S. diplomacy has "enormous significance" because "conditions in the hemisphere are dramatically different from anytime in the recent past."

However, it will not be easy for Christopher to convey to the Brazilian side the importance he attaches to his

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visit and to the region. This is the first time in seven years a U.S. secretary of state has visited Latin America. This interval reflects the real weight that Washington attaches to diplomatic relations with its neighbors.

Moreover, practically all members of the Clinton administration's Latin American advisory services at the Department of State and at the White House will be replaced. This was certainly not helpful for the preparations for Christopher's visit, and will not help the follow-up on the conversations that will stem from his visit.

To make things even more complicated, the Christopher mission comes at a difficult moment for the United States in the three main issues on its Latin American agenda: free trade, drug trafficking, and Cuba.

The big decline in public opinion support for free trade in the United States — caused by Mexico's bankruptcy and the revelations of corruption involving the family of former Mexican leader Raul Salinas, the father of NAFTA and Washington's former favorite Mexican leader — has imposed many restrictions on what he might say about the huge hemispheric integration project that Clinton and the other leaders of the region proclaimed as their common objective at the Miami Summit in December 1994.

Christopher will address this subject on 1 March, during a lunch with entrepreneurs in Sao Paulo, the first of the three stopovers he will make in Brazil. On 2 March he will be in Brasilia, and on 3 March in Manaus, where he will visit INPA [National Institute for Amazon Region Research] and will make a tourist tour.

Inter-American Dialogue President Peter Hakim said: "I believe the visit reflects the Clinton administration's awareness of political difficulties caused within the United States by the effort to meet the expectations awakened by the Miami Summit." He added: "Christopher will reaffirm the objectives of the Miami Summit, but he will ask for understanding of the political situation, in which free trade is a difficult issue in an electoral year in the United States."

Ironically, he will find attentive people in Brasilia, in which the objective of giving shape to hemispheric integration in 2005 — a choice that was considered too ambitious even before the Mexican bankruptcy eroded U.S. public support for the idea — and the motivation objective of creating an appropriate atmosphere for the performance of Patrick Buchanan, the ultraconservative protectionist who leads the race as the Republican presidential candidate.

The downing of two planes of a dissident Cuban group by two planes of the Fidel Castro Air Force yesterday put new pressure on Washington to adopt a harder stance toward Havana, and will give more room within Christopher's agenda for a topic that is much more a factor of disunity than of unity between Latin America and the United States.

Christopher's visit comes in a week when the department that he heads will punish Colombia and take strong action on Mexico because of the reports of involvement of officials of the two countries in drug trafficking. The withdrawal of Colombia from the list of "certified" countries — obviously an electoral decision — will pave the way for economic sanctions against Bogota, the only result of which will be to increase Colombians' dependence on trafficking. This will certainly not increase the popularity — in Latin America — of a policy that punishes only foreign suppliers while protecting U.S. consumers, whose appetite for illegal drugs is the driving force behind drug trafficking.

In the U.S. press, the repercussions of the punishment on Colombia, which is expected on the day Christopher arrives in Sao Paulo, will overshadow any other significance the State Department may wish to give to his visit to the region. Christopher, who was today in El Salvador, will arrive in Santiago, Chile, on 28 February. His tour also includes a stopover in Buenos Aires, three stopovers in Brazil, and a visit to Trinidad and Tobago.

**Brazil: Christopher To Sign Drug Enforcement Agreement**

*PY2702200296 Sao Paulo GAZETA MERCANTIL in Portuguese 26 Feb 96 p A4*

[Report by Maria Helena Tachinardi]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 1 March in Brasilia, U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Brazilian Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia will sign at least two agreements related to space cooperation and drug enforcement. The announcement was made by Harriet Babbit, U.S. representative to the Organization of American States (OAS). Brazil and the United States will expand cooperation between NASA and the Brazilian Space Agency. During his visit to the Institute for Preservation of the Amazon Region (INPA), in Manaus, the Clinton envoy will reaffirm that the United States is interested in bilateral cooperation for environment preservation.

Harriet Babbit said that on 26 February, Christopher began a tour of five countries — El Salvador, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Trinidad y Tobago — to "celebrate" democracy in the continent and the economic reforms. On 23 February, she hosted a satellite conference for Chilean, Argentine, and Brazilian journalists.

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Christopher's visit will be historical, the first by a U.S. secretary of state to Latin America and the Caribbean in eight years. It comes at a sensitive moment marked by the downing of U.S. planes by the Cuban Government.

Babbit remarked that the visit "recognizes" the efforts being made — instead of advising them what to do — and added that contrary to what happened in the past, today there is more "consensus" than "problems" between the United States and Latin America on democracy, human rights, and economic reforms. Christopher visited the region during Jimmy Carter's time when U.S. criticism of the Brazilian human rights policy during the military regime caused relations with Brazil to deteriorate.

Despite the negative analysis by the OAS Human Rights Commission on the Brazilian human rights record, Harriet Babbit praised the government of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso: "Under his leadership, Brazil has played a major human rights role, different from the role it played in the past. Today the government recognizes that the country has problems, and it can help the Inter- American system," she said, referring to the report on democracy and human rights drawn up by the Brazilian and Canadian Governments. The report will be debated on in the first week of March, within the Summit of the Americas.

Babbit also praised Argentina, which "made heroic efforts in economic reforms, paying a social price," and Chile, the "symbol" of a "successful" transition toward democracy, and an example that it is possible to make reforms with measures of social significance.

"The fact that we have no 'fast-track' [preceding expression in English] (Congressional authorization for negotiating commercial agreements) has nothing to do with the Chileans," Babbit said. "It has to do with U.S. policy." In an electoral year like this, the Clinton Government will not have Congressional support for signing a separate agreement with Chile. It is not a constraining situation for the United States. Without Congressional support for moving forward in the integration process, Washington is trying to build a hemispheric free-trade zone through the formation of work groups and ministerial meetings, like that of Cartagena, scheduled for March. Meanwhile, the EU is gaining ground in the region by signing commercial cooperation agreements with Mercosur [Common Market of the South], while negotiating other agreements with Chile and Mexico.

Hemispheric security — drug enforcement and the fight against corruption — will be a central topic in Christopher's agenda in Latin America. This and other bilateral matters, like commercial relations, will be addressed with President Fernando Henrique Cardoso and with entrepreneurs in Sao Paulo. Christopher will stay in Brazil until 4 March.

**Brazil: Government 'Learned' of Cuban Downing Incident**

*PY2802031696 Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 27 Feb 96 p 4*

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia — Itamaraty has released an official communique reporting that the Brazilian Government "has learned" of the downing of two U.S. civilian airplanes "along the Cuban coast" on 24 February, and that it is "attentive to the investigations regarding the incident," adding that it trusts that "it will be widely and satisfactorily clarified."

Translating the diplomatic language, which is so important in this kind of communique, Itamaraty [Brazilian Foreign Ministry] officials pointed out that the Brazilian Government clearly established — by having "learned" rather than "deploring" — that it does not want to "dramatize" the incident, but rather "reduce it to its appropriate proportions." Another important aspect of the official communique is that it does not speak of "international airspace," as the United States claimed, but rather states: "along the Cuban coast."

During a luncheon for Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori, President Fernando Henrique Cardoso commented that the information on the incident was "not precise," and he denied that Cuba will be the main subject of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit to Brazil, which begins on 1 March.

**Brazil: Christopher Agenda, Nuclear Accords Detailed**

*PY2702232596 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2109 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Brasilia, 27 Feb (EFE) — The U.S. Embassy in Brasilia reported today that "the high points of the agenda" of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's visit to Brazil will be bilateral trade and the environment.

During his three-day visit, which will begin on 1 March, Christopher will meet with government officials in Brasilia, visit the construction site of the new U.S. Chamber of Commerce headquarters in Sao Paulo, and make an ecological tour of the Manaus region.

His visit to Brazil is part of Christopher's tour of several Ibero-American countries and, according to the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, it includes reviewing the most outstanding subjects of their bilateral and multilateral agenda.

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Christopher will arrive in Brasilia on 1 March accompanied by Alexander Watson, U.S. assistant secretary of state for inter- American affairs.

Christopher's first visit will be to Itamaraty Palace, where he will be received by Foreign Minister Luiz Felipe Lampreia and where a cooperation agreement between the U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Brazilian Space Agency will be signed.

U.S. Ambassador to Brazil Melvyn Levitsky and Brazilian Strategic Affairs Secretary Ronaldo Sardenberg will sign nuclear cooperation agreements. After the signing ceremony, Christopher will grant a "brief news conference," the U.S. Embassy in Brasilia reported.

Afterward, Christopher will hold a meeting with Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso in Planalto Palace.

On 2 March, Christopher will travel to Sao Paulo, where he will visit the construction site of the new U.S. Chamber of Commerce headquarters. Afterward, he will give a speech on economic matters to the members of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce at the Trans-America Hotel.

On 3 March, the U.S. secretary of state will travel to Manaus, where he will overfly the area encompassing the confluence of the Solimoes and Negro Rivers. He will visit the National Institute for Amazon Region Research, INPA, and learn about the Amazon Victoria Foundation sponsored by the United States. His visit to Manaus will conclude with a boat trip on the Negro River.

**Brazil: U.S. Urged To Seek 'Balanced Attitude' on Cuba**

*PY2802025496 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 27 Feb 96 p A3*

[Editorial from the "Notes and Information" page: "The Cuban Incident"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The downing of two U.S. Cessna airplanes by Cuban MiG's is seen by several groups in the United States as a pretext to defend the most diverse political interests. President Bill Clinton, who is submerged in the presidential campaign, seems to be attracted to such a snare. If he allows himself to be carried along, he could commit a mistake that will increase the tension in the Caribbean area and expand the useful life of the Castro regime beyond what is needed.

The United States has good reasons for demonstrating concern and demanding explanations over the incident involving U.S.-licensed airplanes. The United States, however, should take into account the circumstances in which the planes were downed. First, they violated civil aviation norms by flying a route different from the one reported before taking off. Second, they flagrantly violated Cuban airspace in a propaganda action against Fidel Castro.

Thus, it is irrelevant whether they were downed in international waters or Cuban territorial waters. The important issue is that they came on a mission that U.S. laws do not punish and they ignored at least two warnings not to continue issued by Cuban authorities. To tell the truth, they did receive warnings. Last year, after members of the same group had thrown anti-Castro pamphlets on Cuban soil and led a boat demonstration (which was dissolved by a gunboat) against the Cuban regime, Cuba warned that it would not tolerate violations of its airspace and that next time it could down the planes.

The aspiration of the Cuban exiles to help their fellow countrymen who want to leave the island — punished by a dictatorship and by a failed economic model — to begin a new life in the United States is perfectly understandable. The problem is that the invasion of Cuban airspace and territory demonstrates that those groups have gone beyond the limits of good sense and legality.

Apart from eventual good intentions, such initiatives ultimately have the opposite effect on Cuba, on Washington-Havana relations, and, consequently, on the Cuban people. The Cuban citizens whom the "rescue groups" allegedly want to help do not benefit from worsened relations between Cuba and the United States. The Cuban citizens are better served if the relations between the two countries normalize, thus helping, in some manner, to dissolve the Castro regime amid the democratization of Cuba.

Incidents like the one that occurred over the past weekend offer arguments for those who want not only to maintain the economic embargo against Cuba but to increase it as well, incorporating, for example, sanctions against non-American companies and even countries that carry out businesses with Cuba, as foreseen in the so-called Helms-Burton bill which Clinton defended yesterday.

Such considerations nourish the suspicions that some of the Cuban-American militant groups (the movement is split into 200 groups for less than 1 million exiled people) really want tensions between Cuba and the United States to increase. Some of them believe in the economic embargo against Cuba as a means to bring pressure to bear for the ending of the Castro dictatorship.

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Although the embargo has lasted 30 years and poverty has increased in Cuba, it has not prevented the Castro regime from counting on enough popular support to maintain itself.

The downing of the airplanes by Cuban fighter planes could, however, take the issue to another level: that of national security. Incidents like this could unleash measures in the military sphere that could increase tensions. Fortunately, nothing of this kind was included in the measures announced yesterday. The U.S. Government should continue to carefully ponder its reaction to the episode, seeking a balanced attitude. The moment demands that President Clinton place his role as head of state, U.S. interests, and regional stability above electoral opportunism. The downing of the Cessnas should not serve as an inspiration for the presidential campaign.

**Brazil: Politicos Lay Conditions on Banespa Bailout**

*96SM0113A Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 21 Feb 96*

[Article by Oswaldo Buarim, Jr.: "Banespa at Center of Political Game"; introductory paragraph in italics as published — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Politicians are making approval of the agreement dependent upon identical treatment for their own states, and the government is negotiating to avoid expenditures.*

Brasilia—The financial reorganization of Banespa [Sao Paulo State Bank] may cost the National Treasury more than the $15 billion needed by the Sao Paulo bank to avoid bankruptcy. Approval of the Federal Government's agreement with the Sao Paulo government by the Senate, which must authorize the operation because it involves the creation of debt and the issue of government securities, will depend on whether the same benefits are extended to other states.

Actually, the Sao Paulo agreement will probably be approved, but it will cost the Treasury more money. The senators from the northeast, for example, were the first to protest, using the argument that with $2 billion, the government could complete the construction of reservoirs and permanently solve the problem with water supplies in the driest region of the country.

**List of Requests**

But the complaints did not stop there: Maranhao wants $200 million from the Federal Government to use as a counterpart to World Bank financing for highway construction in that state; Mato Grosso wants the Treasury's backing so that it can borrow $400 million abroad and pay off the state's debt to its bank, Bemat [Mato Grosso State Bank]; Acre wants to see the establishment of two free trade zones that were authorized back during Itamar Franco's administration; and Santa Catarina wants the stretch of Highway BR-101 passing through it doubled in width at a cost of $400 million.

**Compensation**

The senators avoid linking the Banespa case with benefits for their own states, but they do not conceal the fact that they are hoping for compensation guaranteeing "equal treatment" for all. What the senators mean by "equal treatment" is an obligation on the part of the Central Bank to put back in shape and restore to the state governments the Mato Grosso State Bank (Bemat), the Rondonia State Bank (Beron), and Produban [Alagoas State Bank]—all three currently subject to the Temporary Special Administration Rules (RAET), as is Banespa—and the banks in Paraiba (Paraiban) and Rio Grande do Norte (Bandern), both now undergoing extrajudicial liquidation.

Senator Carlos Bezerra (PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], Mato Grosso), who is rapporteur for the bills to roll over state debts and was negotiator of the $2 billion in assistance which the Federal Savings Bank and the BNDES [National Bank for Economic and Social Development] made available to the states for paying off debts to private banks and paying wages in arrears, is one of those most indignant over the agreement to save Banespa. "It looks like excessive favoritism: the poor states are given money with an eyedropper, at market interest rates and a number of requirements concerning privatization and the dismissal of employees, whereas Sao Paulo gets treated like a prince," Bezerra complains.

The Mato Grosso senator says that with about $3 billion—one-fifth of Banespa's deficit—the National Treasury could issue 30-year notes to replace the debts of all the other states, as is going to be done with part of Sao Paulo's debt. "The government is going to have to do a lot of negotiating here before the Banespa agreement is approved and stop using two sets of rules for dealing with the same problem," he predicts.

**Detestable**

Senator Edison Lobao (PFL [Liberal Front Party], Maranhao), unofficial spokesman for the political group headed by Senate President Jose Sarney (PMDB, Amapa), described as "detestable" the situation in which the government has put the senator on the issue of deciding the Banespa case. In his opinion, the agreement with Sao Paulo demonstrates that the Federal Government is in a position to help all the states but is letting the situation deteriorate in order to impose its adjustment program. Maranhao's debt totaled $1.6

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billion in 1991, and even allowing for the payment of principal and interest totaling the equivalent of $400 million over the past five years, the state's debt now comes to $2.6 billion, Lobao said.

"To receive the paltry sum of $27 million with which to pay wages in arrears, the governor practically had to agree to intervention in Acre," Senator Nabor Junior (PMDB, Acre) complains. The state bank, which was in the hands of the Central Bank for a year, according to the senator, was saved from having to close when the Acre State government assumed responsibility for its debt. "That is the opposite of what is happening in Sao Paulo," the senator complains.

A start toward formulating the strategy for winning approval of the agreement to rescue Banespa will be made during this long weekend. The government leader in the Senate, Elcio Alvares (PFL, Espirito Santo), who is Planalto Palace's chief coordinator in Congress, is taking Senator Pedro Piva (PSDB [Brazilian Social Democracy Party], Sao Paulo) to spend Carnival in Guarapari, where they will bring the matter up to date. Piva, who is a candidate to be rapporteur for the Banespa case, is part of Governor Mario Covas' frontline in Congress.

"We are simply going to explain that the money has already left the bank and is gone forever, and that we are proposing a creative solution to the problem," Piva said.

**Brazil: Congressional Blocs Serve Personal Interests**

*96SM0113B Rio de Janeiro JORNAL DO BRASIL in Portuguese 22 Feb 96*

[Article by Sonia Carneiro: "National Congress Subdivided"; introductory paragraph in italics as published — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Congressmen belong to blocs established in accordance with their interests, thus institutionalizing lobbying by the politicians themselves.*

Brasilia—There is an invisible National Congress that few people know about. It consists of congressmen who set themselves above their parties by forming blocs based on their own interests and ignore instructions from leaders elected to head the real blocs. "It is necessary to put an end to this, but I do not know how," comments the speaker of the Chamber of Deputes, Luis Eduardo Magalhaes (PFL [Liberal Front Party], Bahia).

Examples abound of how the unofficial blocs operate. The stand taken by Senate President Jose Sarney (PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], Amapa) in favor of changing the rules for demarcating Indian lands influenced Planalto Palace when it was working up the decree that is causing so much protest in the international community. PFL leader Inocencio Oliveira (Pernambuco), who owns hospitals, is working to keep the AIH's [hospital admittance authorizations] (admittance permits) of the Unified Health System (SUS).

The organization of special interest blocs has institutionalized lobbying by the politicians themselves. In a Congress consisting mostly of businessmen, rural landowners, members of the liberal professions, and government employees, the only thing lacking is a trading floor. Despite that, both the Constitution and the internal rules of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate state that it is a crime to legislate on a matter in which one has an interest.

"The problem is not the lack of a law, but a lack of proper education and behavior," says the PDT [Democratic Labor Party] leader in the Chamber of Deputies, Miro Teixeira (Rio de Janeiro). The deputy anticipates the debate on the crisis in representative democracy by complaining that "the archaic way of conducting the legislative branch has made it a natural thing to establish special interest blocs and the practice of 'you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.'"

Campaign contributions received by the congressmen to get elected leave a mark on their voting records. The rural landowners have already voted to have their debts canceled; those who received contributions from the banks are delaying regulation of the financial system; elimination of the monopolies is accompanied by pressure from businessmen interested in the opening up of new concessions, and the tire lobby is still under investigation by the Chamber of Deputies Disciplinary Committee after congressmen received gifts such as electronic organizers. "We will see who votes in favor," says Deputy Luciano Zica (PT [Workers Party], Sao Paulo), who requested the investigation of the lobby.

Establishing blocs in Congress—there are over 30 of them—was the means found for avoiding complaints about the practice of lobbying. Deputy Nelson Marchezelli (PTB [Brazilian Labor Party], Sao Paulo), who once presided over the Congressional Agriculture Front, explained on one occasion, after meeting with President Fernando Henrique, that "the congressional front is a legitimate lobby and a traditional source of pressure." And he made it clear that if the president had not given in to the ruralists by renegotiating their debts, voting on economic reform, including an end to the monopolies, would still be at a standstill today.

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**Who Is Who**

Ruralist Bloc: Legalized through the Congressional Agriculture Front; Votes: 210 deputies and 28 senators. They want low interest rates, the cancellation of agricultural debts, and renegotiation of their contracts with the Bank of Brazil. Leaders: Aberlardo Luppion (PFL, Parana), Nelson Marchezelli (PTB, Sao Paulo), and Hugo Biel (PPB [Brazilian People's Party], Santa Catarina).

Congressional Front in Defense of Telecommunications: Advocates elimination of the monopoly and flexible regulatory rules; Votes: 325 deputies and 45 senators. Leaders: Deputies Beto Mansur (PPB, Sao Paulo), Paulo Cordeiro (PTB, Parana), and Renato Johnson (PFL, Parana).

AIH's or Hospital Owners: They want to exempt hospitals from taxes, keep the exemption for charity hospitals, receive appropriations, and guarantee subsidies; Votes: 230. Representatives: PFL leader Inocencio Oliveira (PFL, Pernambuco), Deputy Jose Linhares (PFL, Ceara), Jose Pinnoti (PMDB, Sao Paulo), Ayres da Cunha (PFL, Sao Paulo) (owner of the Blue Lyfe), Roland Lavigne (PL [Liberal Party], Bahia), and Talvane Albuquerque (PP [Progressive Party], Alagoas).

Herba Lyfe: Advocates marketing the weight reduction product. PTB leader Pedrinho Abrao (PTB, Goias) and Wilson Campos (PSDB [Brazilian Social Democracy Party], Pernambuco).

Deregulation of Marijuana: Wants marijuana decriminalized. Deputies Fernando Gabeira (PV [Green Party], Rio de Janeiro) and Marta Suplicy (PSDB, Sao Paulo).

Used Tires: Favors the debate on imports. Deputies Luciano Pizzatto (PFL, Parana) and Celso Russomanno (PSDB, Sao Paulo).

Construction Firms: Advocates appropriations in the budget for public works and benefits for construction firms. Deputies Jose Carlos Aleluia (PFL, Bahia) (rapporteur for the new law on concessions), Sergio Naya (PPB, Minas Gerais), and Wigberto Tartuce (PPB, Federal District) and Senator Jose Roberto Arruda (PSDB, Federal District).

FIESP [Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries]: Wants to accelerate constitutional reforms and reduce bank interest rates. Senators Pedro Piva (PSDB, Sao Paulo) and Antonio Kandir (PSDB, Sao Paulo).

Febraban [Brazilian Federation of Bank Associations]: Wants to keep the current banking regulations unchanged, has been hampering regulation of the sector for over five years. Leaders: Deputies Francisco Dornelles (PPB, Rio de Janeiro), Benito Gama (PFL, Bahia), Basilio Vilani (PPB, Parana), Delfim Neto (PPB, Sao Paulo), and Ayrton Xerez (PSDB, Sao Paulo).

Footwear Manufacturers: Want lower duties and taxes in addition to the taxation of competitors; Votes: 95. Leaders: Deputies Julio Redecker (PPB, Rio Grande do Sul) and Germano Rigotto (PMDB, Rio Grande do Sul), government leader in Congress.

Sugarmill Owners: Want subsidies, cancellation of debts, and advances to the industry. Senators Teotonio Vilela Filho (PSDB, Alagoas), Geraldo Melo (PSDB, Rio Grande do Norte), and Jose Mucio (PFL, Pernambuco).

Legalization of the Numbers Game: Ivo Mainardi (PMDB, Rio Grande do Sul) and Simao Sessim (PFL, Rio de Janeiro).

Legalization of Casinos: Deputy Vanessa Felippe (PSDB, Rio de Janeiro).

Municipalist: Wants a decentralization of taxes and of power. Representative: Severino Cavalcanti (PDT, Bahia).

Soccer Clubs: Want to guarantee club privileges and amend the Zico Law, with representation on the CPI [congressional investigating committee] on bingo. Deputies Arnaldo Faria de Sa (PPB, Sao Paulo), president of the Portuguesa Soccer Club; Marquinho Chedid (PSD [Democratic Social Party], director of the Bragantino Soccer Club; and Eurico Miranda (PPB, Rio de Janeiro), vice president of the Vasco Soccer Club.

Civilian and Military Government Personnel: Want to preserve job security and the privileges of government personnel. Deputies Maria Laura (PT, Federal District), Prisco Viana (PPB, Bahia), and Jair Bolsonaro (PPB, Rio de Janeiro).

Landless Farmers: Want agrarian reform and the legalization of invasions of property. Deputy Adao Preto (PT, Rio Grande do Sul).

Microbusinesses: Want to keep tax privileges and debureaucratize operating rules. Deputies Augusto Nardes (PPB, Rio Grande do Sul), Jose Janene (PPB, Parana), and Wilson Cignachi (PMDB, Rio Grande do Sul).

School Owners: Want freedom to charge monthly fees and the privatization of public education. Deputies Paes Landim (PFL, Piaui) and Maria Elvira (PMDB, Minas Gerais) and Senator Suassuna (PMDB, Paraiba).

Protestant Bloc: Wants radio and TV licenses and privileges for its sects. Some are committed to protecting "Bishop" Edir Macedo. Deputies Laprovita Vieira

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(PPB, Rio de Janeiro), Francisco Silva (PPB, Rio de Janeiro), Costa Ferreira (PFL, Maranhao), Carlos Apolinario (PMDB, Sao Paulo), and Filemon Rodrigues (PTB, Minas Gerais).

Catholic Bloc: Wants to retain church influence on the branches of government. Deputies Osmanio Pereira (PSDB, Minas Gerais) and Father Roque (PT, Parana).

Petroleum Monopoly: Senators Jefferson Peres (PSDB, Amazonas) and Roberto Freire (PPS [Popular Socialist Party], Pernambuco), Miro Teixeira (Rio de Janeiro) (PDT leader in the Chamber of Deputies), and Deputies Luciano Zica (PT, Sao Paulo) and Jacques Wagner (PT, Bahia).

Congressional Social Security Front: Wants to keep retirement systems intact and expand benefits. Coordinator: Arnaldo Faria de Sa (PPB, Sao Paulo).

Manaus Free Zone: Wants to keep tax incentives and financing rules despite the harm caused. Senators Gilberto Miranda (PMDB, Amazonas) and Bernardo Cabral (PPB, Amazonas), and Deputy Pauderney Avelino (PPB, Amazonas).

Front in Defense of Citizenship: Wants to help in the campaign against hunger. Coordinator: Deputy Miro Teixeira (PDT, Rio de Janeiro).

Bank of Brazil: Defends that institution and fights for better wages. Deputies Augusto Carvalho (PPS, Federal District) and Anivaldo Valle (PPB, Parana).

Amazon Region Bloc: Wants privileges for the region. Coordinator: Deputy Jose Priante (PMDB, Parana).

Northeast Bloc: Senators Joel de Holanda (PFL, Pernambuco) and Beni Veras (PSDB, Ceara).

Center-West Bloc: Senators Carlos Bezerra (PMDB, Mato Grosso) and Lucio Coelho (PSDB, Mato Grosso do Sul).

**Brazil: Expanded Trade Ties With PRC Examined**

*96SM0113C Sao Paulo EXAME in Portuguese 17 Jan 96 pp 20-21*

[Article by Leonardo Attuch: "Who Is Going To Satisfy Chinese Hunger?"; introductory paragraph in boldface as published]

[FBIS Translated Text] **China is not just the enemy that sells everything at low, low prices. Brazilian exports to that country have increased 430 percent since 1991.**

In recent years, Brazilian businessmen have become accustomed to seeing China as an invincible enemy. The refrain was always the same. The Chinese secret was said to be limited to the trio of miserable wages, abundant manpower, and absolute disregard for international rules of trade. Although China is still causing many people to lose their good humor and their jobs, it is gradually coming to be looked upon with fondness by Brazilian exporting firms or candidates for that title, especially those in agribusiness and the food industry. "China may become a big importer within a few years not only of agricultural commodities but also of industrial food products," says Daniel Huber, president of Cargill, at the Minneapolis headquarters of that firm, which does business with Asia. Cargill, whose main activity is the marketing of farm products, bills over $55 billion globally. "Brazil, together with the United States, Canada, Australia, and Argentina, is one of the few countries that can hitch a ride on Chinese growth."

And what growth it is. One of the only markets where Brazilian exports are growing at Asian rates is precisely China. Those exports rose from $226.4 million in 1991 to $1.2 billion in 1995, a jump of 430 percent. Brazilian exports as a whole grew by only 47 percent during the same period. It is expected that in 1996, China will continue to experience two-digit growth for the fifth year in a row. Imports, which are currently close to $125 billion, are expected to reach $700 billion within 15 years. The country's per capita income, which is still very low—about $300—has also been rising rapidly. And the market, which includes 22 percent of the world's population, or 1.2 billion inhabitants, is growing at a rate of 13 million new consumers per year.

**Underconsumption**

A country big in every respect, China fails in only one important detail. In its territory, only 12 percent of the land—the equivalent of 117 million hectares—can be utilized for agriculture, and that is almost exhausted. In Brazil's case, the basis of long-term optimism is a simple rule of three. Brazil has a population eight times smaller and three times as much arable land. Moreover, only 52 million hectares are occupied. "Brazil and China are the two most important emerging countries in the world, and more than competitors, they complement each other in almost every respect," says Joseph Tutundjian, vice president of the Cotia Trading Company, one of Brazil's chief exporting firms.

The transformation that the Chinese have been causing in the market for agricultural commodities ever since their country began opening up to the world is remarkable. Until 1994, China was a big grain exporter. It was selling 8 million metric tons. Last year the country imported twice that much; only Japan imported more. The trend is toward ever-increasing imports. Accustomed to

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a rather simple diet based on rice, pork, and vegetables, the Chinese are starting to change. Their meals are gradually becoming Westernized. Big Macs, Coca-Cola, ice cream, and other such things are becoming more common components of Chinese meals, and they require a great deal of oil, soybean bran, and sugar. Although it has risen by 160 percent in the past three years—20 times faster than in the rest of the world—the consumption of soybean oil in China is still one-tenth of that in Brazil. Beef consumption is 20 times lower.

"If the Chinese discover pastry, the world's production of soybean oil will have to triple," says Nelson Mamede, director of grains and grain products at Sadia. The opportunities today are excellent. Ceval did not begin exporting its products to China until 1992, and last year it accounted for 25 percent of all the soybean oil imported by China. That represents a mountain of money: $150 million. "In only three years we became the world's largest exporter to the country that is the world's largest importer," says Polidorio Ferreira, the firm's director of industrial products. "Our attention is being increasingly focused there, especially since consumption in developed markets has now stabilized." The results are so good that Ceval is now studying the possibility of opening a factory in China to can and distribute the oil locally.

"Brazil has a lot to gain in markets in which it is more competitive, examples being soybeans, sugar, coffee, and orange juice," says Lester R. Brown, president of the Worldwatch Institute in Washington and former director of the international area in the U.S. Department of Commerce. Brown has just published a book titled "Who Will Feed China?" That book, 40,000 copies of which have already been sold in the United States, says that China's entry into the market as a buyer of agricultural products will send commodity prices soaring. "The big difficulty facing Brazil in its attempt to become a major world supplier quickly is its general lack of transportation facilities and infrastructure," Brown says.

**Room for Growth**

Although those structural shortcomings are a matter of consensus among producers and businessmen in agribusiness, Brazilian exports to China, pulled along especially by agricultural products and byproducts, grew by 46 percent last year. "There is still quite a bit of room for growth," says Mauricio Cortes, secretary of foreign trade. Business with China represents slightly more than 2.5 percent of the overall volume exported by Brazil. "China may become our chief market within a few years," says Ricardo Rezende, president of Sabaralcool, an alcohol and sugar factory in the vicinity of Maringa in Parana. Sabaralcool exported 25,000 metric tons last year. "As Chinese tastes grow closer to our own, as is now happening, the trend will be toward good prices and better opportunities for growth in our country's production," says Rezende. One more cup of coffee per day in the mouth of each Chinese would equal Brazil's total exports, and Brazil is the world's second-largest exporter. If China reached the worldwide average of 32 kilograms per capita every year, the country's import requirement would increase twentyfold.

While the prospects for commodity exports are good, improving consumption patterns in China are making room for Brazilian firms in traditional markets. "Economic growth will force the Chinese poultry industry, which has been competing with us in an aggressive and predatory manner in the European Union and Japan, to focus more and more on meeting domestic demand," says Nildemar Secches, president of Perdigao, a firm whose exports totaled $200 million last year and which intends to expand its business with Asia.

But the Chinese appetite is not limited to food. This year, even firms in the textile and footwear industry, thrashed by Asian competition, are planning to sell their products in China. Wentex, a firm associated with Coteminas, is beginning the production of cotton undershirts this January, and it will sell them for 70 centavos on the domestic market. One of the goals is to export to the East. "Our price in the Chinese retail market will be lower than their factory price, and the product will be of better quality," says Josue Christiano Gomes da Silva, the firm's vice president. The intention is to open factory stores in the principal Chinese capitals before this year is out. The consumption of textile fibers in China is three times less than in Brazil. And executives from Azaleia, our country's largest producer of women's shoes, have been meeting with Chinese authorities for the purpose of also opening stores in Beijing and Shanghai.

In the case of exports of services, the biggest deal taking shape in that region over the next few years is construction of the Three Gorges hydroelectric plant. It will be the largest in the world—almost twice as large as Itaipu. The cost of the project, bidding for which is scheduled to begin this year, will be close to $25 billion. "In a project of that kind, no one has more know-how than Brazilian construction firms," says Cesar de Castro, director of the CBPO [expansion unknown], which is a consortium made up of construction firms and manufacturers of capital goods in our country.

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## Chile

### Chile: U.S. Urged Not To Adopt Sanctions on Colombia

*PY2702171396 Santiago EL MERCURIO in Spanish 25 Feb 96 p 2*

["Exclusive" commentary: "The United States and Colombia" by Miguel Posada S., director of the Center of Sociopolitical Studies]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the 1960's, the U.S. policy toward Colombian has centered on containing the communist threat. Colombia, affected by subversion, received help in its struggle against the communist guerrilla. It seems the Colombian Government did not hesitate to resort to the Armed Forces and the police to combat the trafficking of marijuana to the United States. The export of marijuana was thus virtually eliminated. However, the criminal organizations that manufactured cocaine which appeared on the scene were much more powerful than their predecessors, the "marimberos." Their corruption and intimidation power are impressive. Many Colombian officials who confronted these mafias have paid with their lives. Until the end of the Cold War, U.S.- Colombian ties were centered on subversion and narcotrafficking. Bilateral ties were generally good and cordial. There was a common objective and a permanent mutual cooperation.

Following the fall of the Soviet Union, however, the United States lost interest in the Colombian subversion issue. It centered its attention on drug trafficking and began to pressure the Colombian Government to allot all its resources to combat it, even if that meant overlooking the struggle against subversion.

Even though some U.S. officials, like Ambassador Tambs, detected the alliance between drug trafficking and subversion, Colombia received scarce help to combat subversion. U.S. leftist groups and organizations, generally under the disguise of human rights defense groups, were busy hiding the increasing involvement of Colombian guerrillas in the illegal manufacturing of drugs. Today we witness the guerrillas as they surge like another cartel — as powerful or perhaps more powerful than the so-called Medellin and Cali cartels.

The vast economic power of narcotrafficking allowed it to corrupt the Colombian judicial branch and Congress, and only now we have begun to fathom the extent of it. Its infiltration in the political world became obvious when it allied itself with the left, and was able to make the 1991 Constituent Assembly ban the extradition of Colombians. This was the start of the distancing between the U.S. and Colombian Governments. The obvious fact that the 1993 Liberal Party campaign was financed to a large extent by narcotrafficking has resulted in an even greater clash in bilateral ties.

The majority of Colombians consider what is disclosed in the so-called Process 8000 is atrocious. This process encompasses the investigations conducted by the Attorney General's Office against politicians involved in narcotrafficking on the basis of documents seized from Cali drug traffickers and testimonies given by those under investigation.

Although people were aware of infiltration by narcotraffickers in politics, no one was aware of the extent of it. We are living critical times in Colombia. U.S. Colombian policy will play an important role on the results. Excessive pressure through trade sanctions and insulting statements are counterproductive. Trade sanctions ruin legal exporters and insults encourage corrupt politicians, narcotraffickers, and guerrilla members to hoist the banners of a misconstrued nationalism and achieve popular support.

The United States will play a constructive role if it adopts a rather discreet and intelligent attitude in view of the painful clean-up process underway in Colombia. This clean-up operation is much more important tha the arrest of one or three cartel chiefs.

To ensure future success in the battle against narcotafficking, the United States must acknowledge the connection among narcotrafficking, subversion, and their allies abroad. In addition to promoting ties between U.S. and Colombian politicians in power, we must also promote professional ties between the pertinent U.S. Government agencies, the Colombian Armed Forces, and the Attorney General's Office.

### Chile: Insulza on 'Great Expectations' for Christopher

*PY2702171296 Santiago LA TERCERA DE LA HORA in Spanish 27 Feb 96 p 6*

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to Chilean Foreign Minister Jose Miguel Insulza, although U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will stay in Chilean territory for only a few hours, his visit creates great expectations because this is the first time that such a top-ranking U.S. official has visited Chile since the 1960's.

Insulza explained that during President Patricio Aylwin's administration the then U.S. secretary of state did visit Chile but he did so within the framework of the OAS meeting.

The foreign minister explained that the issues to be broached on this occasion will center on pending bilateral issues. He warned that "we will not prioritize

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any subject in particular." He also reasserted that no great announcements should be expected.

Foreign Minister Insulza expressed with satisfaction that Secretary of State Christopher's visit will be followed by that of U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry in March, "which demonstrates the level of bilateral relations." [passage on Christopher's agenda omitted]

**Chile: President 'Highly Values' Christopher's Visit**

*PY2702182996 Santiago LA EPOCA in Spanish 27 Feb 96 p 15*

[By "C.A.S." from ORBE]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will arrive tonight at 2000. Government Secretary General Jose Joaquin Brunner said yesterday the high-ranking Clinton administration official will have an "open" agenda during his stay in Chile. Brunner said: "President Eduardo Frei highly values this visit to Chile because this is the first time in over 25 years such an important personality visits Chile." [passage on U.S. Ambassador Gabriel Guerra-Mondragon's statement on poisoned grape case omitted]

Jose Joaquin Brunner said the president and the U.S. Secretary of State will discuss several issues, among which is Chile's entrance in NAFTA. He added that U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher will meet with the president to discuss an agenda encompassing "multiple subjects because no specific subject has been prioritized. The objective of this visit is to become acquainted with the country and to establish contacts with an open agenda." [passage on U.S. Secretary of State Christopher's schedule omitted]

**Chile: Christopher Arrives on 'Historical' Visit**

*PY2802014496 Santiago Universidad Catolica Television Internacional in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Live relay by (Lorrein Thompson) from the Santiago airport]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Good evening. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher arrived in the country a few minutes ago. His visit is considered historical because this is the first time since the mid-1960's that such a high-ranking official has visited Chile. [passage omitted]

Christopher will stay in Chile until tomorrow. He will hold working meetings with President Frei and with Foreign Minister Jose Miguel Insulza. The as yet unresolved grapes case and the stagnation of negotiations for Chile to join NAFTA will be discussed on this occasion.

## Colombia

**Colombia: Explosives Near U.S. Embassy Deactivated**

*PA2802010096 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0009 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Santa Fe de Bogota, 27 Feb (EFE) — The Colombian police today deactivated six explosive devices with remote control mechanisms in a Santa Fe de Bogota area in which various ministries, including the Defense Ministry, and the new U.S. Embassy facilities are located, according to National Police Director General Luis Enrique Montenegro.

The officer said the devices were discovered in an avenue that links the city's downtown area and the Santa Fe de Bogota airport, at a place known as National Administrative Center (CAN), but the identity of the persons who set the devices is unknown.

The Defense Ministry — whose facilities also include the Army, Navy, and Air Force commands — Transportation Ministry, Education Ministry, Mines Ministry, National Police headquarters and clinic, Electoral Organization building, and state-owned television station, among other official agencies, are located in the CAN.

The new U.S. Embassy facilities were inaugurated 200 meters from the CAN 15 days ago.

However, Gen. Montenegro explained the explosives were aimed at the block in which the Defense Ministry and Armed Forces commands are located.

Buildings in the zone were evacuated while police ammunition experts deactivated the explosive devices.

**Colombia: Attack on Defense Ministry Facilities 'Foiled'**

*PA2802015696 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Canal A Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Report by William Calderon; from the "Seven O'Clock" newscast; monitored by retransmission of Lima Sistema Unido de Retransmision at 0100 GMT on 28 February]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Anchor Jorge Alfredo Vargas] We now expand the report on the attack on the Defense Ministry installations, which was foiled in Santa Fe de Bogota this evening. William Calderon has the last-minute report.

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[Calderon] Attention please. The confirmed report is the following: Authorities uncovered six rockets that were aimed at the installations of the Defense Ministry building where the command of the Military Forces, the Air Force, and the Navy also operate.

It was also aimed at the National Police Directorate. The rockets were found on this [word indistinct] we are now looking at, and they were positioned right in front of the installations of the Defense Ministry, in western Santa Fe de Bogota. Once the rockets were defused by police and Army units, they were taken to the National Army Command to be examined.

It has been indicated by the technicians from the [words indistinct] that they had already been activated and were going to be installed [words indistinct]. Army units have cordoned off the area. That is why there is great traffic congestion in the area. There is a situation of chaos in this part of the capital.

A planned attack on the Defense Ministry installations and the national police has been uncovered. We will continue to report on this incident later on, which is undoubtedly the most important one today.

**Colombia: General Explains Attack on Defense Ministry**

*PA2802024096 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Canal A Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[Report by William Calderon; from the "Seven O'Clock" newscast; monitored from retransmission by Lima Sistema Unido de Retransmision in Spanish at 0100 GMT on 28 February]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Anchor Maria Cristina Uribe] William Calderon is now with General Ramon Niebles, who will talk about the attack on the Defense Ministry installations that was recently foiled.

[Calderon] We are now at the Defense Ministry installations with Gen. Ramon Eduardo Niebles Uzcategui, commander of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Gen. Niebles, good evening. What is the official report?

[Niebles] We can confirm that this afternoon security patrols from the headquarters of the General Staff and of the Defense Ministry, in their routine inspections, apparently found explosive devices in the vicinity. Immediately after being detected, the Army's Marte Group was called. These devices turned out to be pipes filled with 60-mm mortars, which were aimed at the Defense Ministry installations.

[Calderon] Are these the rockets?

[Niebles] These are the pipes which have a [word indistinct] system. It is used to give a greater inclination or elevation and a greater or lesser range to the pipe.

[Calderon] What type of damage could a weapon such as this inflict on the Defense Ministry installations?

[Niebles] It could inflict damage if it fell on one of the offices or in an open field. It has a range of 25 or 35 meters, which could inflict damage. It is not the pipe but the grenade inside the pipe that can cause damage.

[Calderon] Has someone been arrested in the operation?

[Niebles] When the patrols approached the area, the person who was apparently in charge of activating it fled. The soldiers were only able to find this sweater, which was left by the person. I ask citizens who are watching this newscast if they know of someone who was wearing a sweater such as this or similar to this today to inform the Army, the 13th Brigade, the police, the Defense Ministry, or the General Command immediately so that we can continue with the investigations. Undoubtedly some citizen must have seen a person wearing a sweater such as this. If they could inform us about it, it would be very interesting.

[Calderon] Thank you very much, Gen. Niebles.

**Colombia: Samper Says Nation 'Regrets' Cuban Incident**

*PA2702215496 Santa Fe de Bogota Radiodifusora Nacional de Colombia in Spanish 1735 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[Statement by President Ernesto Samper Pizano at Narino Palace on 27 February; from the "Colombian Newscast" — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Colombian Government regrets the recent incident between Cuba and the United States as a result of the downing of two U.S. civilian aircraft over waters the Cuban Government claims are its territorial waters, but the United States says are international waters.

Even if the aircraft were in Cuban airspace, it would have been advisable to make use of every resource to dissuade and obtain the peaceful withdrawal of the planes without having resorted to force, causing the loss of human lives. That is the sense of the rules of international law that exist to this effect.

If we Latin Americans expected something from the end of the Cold War, it was that its hopes of peace would also reach our region. Today, humanitarian reasons should be the main guidelines of our actions.

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My government hopes that this incident will soon be surpassed and that the undoubtedly bold and promising efforts both governments have been making to improve their relations will not be harmed by this situation.

Likewise, the Colombian Government has voiced to the Israeli Government our condolences over the terrorist attacks that have taken place recently. Colombia has closely followed the peace process in the Middle East, and it firmly believes that violent actions that seek to obstruct the channels of dialogue and understanding will not be able to destroy the path to peace in the region.

**Colombia: Congress Rules on 'Public' Samper Probe**

*PA2802051096 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Canal A Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 28 Feb 96*

[From the "Seven O'Clock Newscast"; monitored from a retransmission by Lima Sistema Unido de Retransmission at 0100 GMT on 28 February]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The first commissions of the Senate and the Chamber of Representatives on 27 February ruled that the investigations against President Ernesto Samper will be public. In addition, they took authority away from the Accusations Committee as they ruled that the end or the continuation of the investigations on the chief of state depend only on the plenary of the Chamber of Representatives.

[Reporter Juan Carlos Mateus] The first major decision by the first commissions of the Chamber of Representatives and Senate states that both the Accusations Committee's documents and the discussions on the investigations on President Samper will be public. The second decision is that the votes of the plenary of the Chamber of Representatives will also be public. This means that congressmen will not be able to vote in secret when he accuses or acquits the president. The third decision is that as the investigations on the president have immunity; there cannot be faceless witnesses. Therefore, whoever testifies in favor or against the chief of state must be fully identified.

This is how things are: if the plenary of the Chamber of Representatives decides to close [percluir] the investigations, the process will be definitely shelved. If it decides to continue with the investigations, it will appoint a commission that, in five days at the most, will draft the bill of resolution of accusation to be forwarded to the Senate.

[Announcer] During the debate, ministers, magistrates, congressmen, and even the prosecutor general voiced their opinions in favor and against the decisions made.

[Begin recording] [Second unidentified reporter, in progress] ...faceless justice?

[Prosecutor General Alfonso Valdivieso] No, absolutely not. This is independent from the faceless justice, regardless of the scope one wants to give it. If it is unduly used and if one fails to take the precautions we are proposing, it could definitely be an event that will adversely affect not faceless justice, but the need to preserve the identify of certain elements and the [words indistinct] in the process.

[Attorney General Orlando Vasquez Velasquez] The president of the Republic, at least this is what his initiative states, wants his trial to be public. He wants the truth to be known. The country claims to know the truth, a truth that is not even a half-truth; it is a truth that has overflowed all the elemental principles of human dignity.

[Unidentified speaker] A headline that reads The President Is Innocent perhaps is not news; perhaps the headline, the news, the information would be The President Is Guilty. This is the intention and spirit of this bill.

[Senator Hector Eli Rojas] Accepting this reason, Messrs. Senators and Representatives, is to recognize that we are unable to have our own legitimacy, our own credibility, and our own responsibility before the people. [end recording]

**Colombia: 'Text' of Prosecutor's Case Against Samper**

*PA2702023196 Santa Fe de Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 23 Feb 96*

["Text" of the penal case against President Ernesto Samper Pizano presented by Prosecutor General Alfonso Valdivieso Sarmiento before the Accusations and Investigations Committee of the Chamber of Representatives — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The new evidence indicates the entry into the campaign of Ernesto Samper Pizano of funds coming from criminal activities, violations of the authority to attest documents, an excess over the maximum legal ceiling for financing, fraud against the electoral laws, the undue acquisition of state resources, and maneuvers designed to cover up the facts, all actions that would seriously implicate the responsibility of the then candidate and current President," the complaint concludes.

This is the entire text of the criminal complaint filed by Prosecutor General Alfonso Valdivieso against President Ernesto Samper to the Accusations Committee of

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the Chamber of Representatives. Eight days after Valdivieso filed the complaint, the confidentiality of proceedings has finally been broken:

Heyne Sorge Mogollon

President

Investigations and Accusations Committee

Honorable Chamber of Representatives

Santa Fe de Bogota

ALFONSO VALDIVIESO SARMIENTO, Colombian national, bearer of the personal identification card No. 19.084.390 issued in Bogota, as the Prosecutor General of the Republic, in keeping with the constitutional mandate contained in Articles 178 Subparagraph 4, 250 and 251 and based on Article 312 of Law No. 5 of 1992, presents a criminal complaint against ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO, current President of the Republic, on charges of committing criminal acts whose knowledge falls under the jurisdiction of that organization and calls for the formal opening of the investigation. This complaint is based on evidence submitted by the Prosecutor General's Office via actions that fall under its jurisdiction, of which I submit a certified copy, as well as in the considerations I am remanding.

1. PROOF

1.1 EXPANSION OF INQUIRY OF FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA

1.1.1 Background

FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA was linked to the investigation filed under No. 25386 and currently has a preventive arrest warrant pending against him on charges of illegal enrichment and misrepresentation.

He was questioned on 15, 16, and 17 August 1995. On 19 January 1996, the commission of Regional Prosecutors responsible for the investigation received a petition presented by his defense attorney, in which he asked that the inquiry be expanded. The inquiry was approved and conducted in five sessions on 22 and 30 January and on 5, 7, and 8 February 1996. Annex No. 1 includes a certified copy of this proceeding.

1.1.2 Summary of the Content

In the said proceeding to expand the inquiry, the first Defense minister of the current government indicates that he seeks neither to avail himself of the surrender policy nor to receive any sentence reduction benefits and makes a detailed account of the beginning, development, and conclusion of the electoral campaign that won Ernesto Samper the Presidency.

1.1.2.1 The Presidential Campaign

FERNANDO BOTERO recounted that the presidential campaign of ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO actually began in Pedraza, Spain, in March 1993. FERNANDO BOTERO, JULIO ANDRES CAMACHO, MONICA DE GREIFF, JUAN CARLOS POSADA and two U.S. advisers met in Pedraza for three days under the leadership of ERNESTO SAMPER himself and with the occasional presence of JACQUIN DE SAMPER and ROBERTO POSADA GARCIA- PENA.

He also stressed how the political situation was determined by these characteristics: Samper had virtually no challenger to win the Liberal Party primaries; faced with the electoral contest itself, ANDRES PASTRANA had a considerable edge in his favor; Samper's main weakness was that he appeared as being too close to the Liberal political class and the old country; the opinion climate was "antipolitics." Therefore, a modern and novel campaign scheme was designed, independent from the Liberal Party's apparatus and focused on ethical concerns, with advisers making a strong emphasis on the need to guarantee the transparency and the integrity of all financial contributions to the campaign, "particularly due to the Ernesto Samper Pizano's background regarding the topic of drug trafficking" (the proposal to legalize marijuana in 1979 and the incident at Medellin's Intercontinental Hotel in 1982. See videotape included in Annex No. 1). This had an effect on the emphasis placed on the need to maintain a radical position regarding drug trafficking and to adopt actions to halt, through all possible means, the entry of drug-related funds in the campaign's treasury. In other words, there was a strong emphasis that the campaign be financed with legal funds and in keeping with all of the requirements and legal criteria.

According to BOTERO, this scheme did not last very long because of the candidate's need to have the support of the Liberal Party's machinery, a circumstance that led in two different directions: one for handling the political line and another one for handling the opinions.

1.1.2.2 Irregularities

Following the series of events described by Botero, the first efforts by the treasury — at that time managed by Dr. Monica de Greiff — yielded very poor results, in particular by the small attention that she could devote to obtaining monetary resources. Finally, Santiago Medina was put in charge of the treasury and the campaign's financial situation more or less became normal. Nevertheless, the legal regulation of the campaign's financial ceilings started to become extremely important by this time. The National Electoral Council had established a 2-billion-peso ceiling for the first presidential election round. Samper was aware of this. The candidate and the

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top campaign leaders were always present in the various meetings where this problem was debated.

According to the same presenter, several mechanisms were used to avoid this ceiling, such as having the campaign's donor enterprises pay suppliers directly, accepting cash donations, and using unregistered bank accounts abroad. Nevertheless, at the end of the first round, the campaign had exceeded or was about to exceed the ceiling established by the National Electoral Council for the two rounds' total disbursements.

The following procedures, among others, were adopted for the runoff elections: Asking suppliers to invoice publicity expenses in the name of third parties; accepting donations in kind, particularly in the form of radio and television paid ads, and, finally, accepting donations in foreign currency to avoid registering them in bookkeeping records.

1.1.2.3 Reception of money from illegal activities and responsibility of the candidate for president.

Botero also said: "And I am going to start by saying that in the confusion, disorganization, and anxiety of the political campaign's final stretch, large sums of money from the so-called Cali cartel entered candidate Samper's campaign."

Later, he said: "The many circumstances that I observed in the campaign's final stretch allow me to say unhesitatingly that candidate Samper was fully aware of the drug traffickers' money participation in his presidential campaign and that, as I have said in public, he is seriously and critically involved in these facts."

According to Botero, the candidate at the beginning paid no attention to the financing. "Easy, Fernando. The money will come by," Samper used to say. "To tell it more clearly, Samper was convinced to the end, not only that would he defeat Pastrana in the 29 May 1994 elections, but that he would obtain half plus one of the votes and that this would render the runoff election unnecessary. As I said on 22 January, he stuck to this view to the end. Faithful to this view, Samper instructed me expressly to spend all campaign resources in the 29 May elections and even get the campaign indebted if necessary." These decisions, made by Samper, led the campaign to an acute financial crisis at the end of the first round of elections for president and a situation of relative confusion for the runoff elections due to the nonexistence of a formal plan for the final stretch of the elections.

For the runoff election, "what created a completely unmanageable situation — and I want to be very clear and final on this point — was Samper's decision to develop the two strategies or campaigns simultaneously (one, a communications strategy, and the other what he described as the "oiling" of the Liberal Party machinery). In fact, this decision implied financial needs of the order of 6 or 7 billion pesos, an amount it was simply impossible to obtain in the short period of 21 days of the campaign's final stretch. The truth is that no campaign in Colombia can collect 500 million pesos daily on every working day by appealing exclusively to traditional, clean sources of political financing. This point is decisive. When Samper made the fundamental decision to develop the two campaigns simultaneously, a decision that he and he alone could make, he was in fact opening the door to the irregular financing of the campaign, at least to a considerable extent, that corresponding to the Liberal Party machinery's encouragement operation."

"To tell it more clearly, the large-scale incorporation of drug traffickers' money in the campaign occurred during the period (sic) of 21 days that began on 29 May and ended on 17 June 1994, that is to say, during the runoff election for president. During the previous interrogation, I said that the results of the 29 May election had been a hard political and psychological blow on Samper and virtually paralyzed the campaign. Only on Wednesday or Thursday, 1 or 2 June 1994, did Samper decide to develop the two campaign strategies simultaneously. From the 21 initial days, we will subtract four or five days to obtain a balance of 15 or 16 days. In addition, it is evident that the money should have been made available in the regions at least three or four days prior to the 17 June elections if they were to be effective at all. Again we subtract the number of days, these three or four special chunks of time at the end of this short period of time. By subtracting four or five days at the beginning of the period and three or four days at the end of the period, we can reach the conclusion that the idea of receiving money from the Cali cartel and implementing the sinister program was conceived in 12 or 14 days. It was more or less at the beginning of this period that I started to suspect, slightly at the beginning, then increasingly more strongly, what was going on. The events, very important from an operational viewpoint, must have taken place during the week that started on Monday, 6 June 1994."

1.1.2.4 "Cover-up" Behaviors

Regarding the activities carried out by the Colombian president and his close advisers, including Botero himself, in view of the possibility that SANTIAGO MEDINA would tell the truth about the campaign financing, the former minister says: "Cover-up activities. This subject is too extensive. During dozens and dozens of meetings at the Narino Palace, at the Cartagena House of Illustrious Guests, or at the Hatogrande Presidential Estate, discussions were held with President Samper and

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various members of his government about the facts related to his campaign financing with drug trafficking money and about the strategies required to cover up this reality from the national and international public. Meanwhile, I will refer to two meetings in particular, although I underscore the fact before the prosecutors that at least thirty meetings were held under the same or similar circumstances. I start by pointing out that the members of Samper's closest group — constituted by Horacio Serpa, Rodrigo Pardo, Juan Manuel Turbay, Juan Fernando Cristo, and myself — spoke very frankly about the introduction of drug trafficking money into the campaign and how to cover this fact up and keep it 'under control' from a judicial, communications, and political standpoint. It is upon this basis that any examination on the cover-up operation should begin. Around May 1995 when we were sure that Medina had been initially summoned to give a voluntary and spontaneous testimony before the Regional Prosecutor's Office, I convoked a meeting to discuss this subject with the president, Horacio Serpa, Juan Manuel Turbay, and Rodrigo Pardo. All of us met very late one evening at the palace with the exception of Pardo, who had gone on a trip.

"Since I kept in touch with Medina, I knew very well that he would not sacrifice himself for Samper's or for any other campaign member's sake in the event that his juridical situation became more complex. I recall very well that Samper asked for the meeting to be held in the small anteroom of the Council of Ministers Hall, which was completely dark. For some reason, no one wished to or was able to find the switch to turn on the light. I expressed my concern that Medina could decide to cooperate with justice and that he could thus incriminate all of the campaign's executive directors, beginning with the Colombian president downward, with the irregular campaign activities. This news was followed by a long silence. I managed to see amid the shadows the expressions of anxiety and concern in the faces of all those who attended this meeting. Samper was the first one to speak. He said we had to think that the worst could happen, adding that he had long ago considered this possibility. 'It would be Medina's word against mine. In that case, it would be necessary to throw Medina into the fire, saying that he had infiltrated into the campaign on behalf of the Cali cartel and had also stolen the campaign's money.' I told Samper that this would not be easy because in such situations, people are more prone to believe the accuser rather than the defendant. In addition, Medina had the majority of the campaign files, which he could use to prove the surmounting of campaign limits, the distribution of money in cash, the payment of bills by third parties, and even the campaign ties with drug trafficking money. I told Samper that Medina was a very close friend of Samper's friend Elizabeth Montoya. And I went on. This matter does not involve the president alone. Medina can incriminate everyone, including Juan Manuel Turbay, Rodrigo Pardo, Horacio Serpa, Juan Manuel Avella, and myself, of course, that is, everybody. I think that we should devise a strategy to handle this extremely serious problem. This discussion lasted about one hour without reaching any conclusion. As it was customary during these meetings, this problem was as huge as a cathedral. Nevertheless, everybody — and particularly the president — preferred to look the other way round, waiting for the Holy Spirit to remove as by miracle the serious campaign problem that hunted the government every hour, every day, and every week of its life."

He then describes what he calls a "strategy" to confront the situation: "Instead of continuing to make this description, it could be more fruitful to analyze the basic assumption of the dozens of meetings of the members of Samper's innermost circle and Samper himself. These assumptions are the following: 1. The facts of the campaign did occur, this is to say, the drug money came in and the electoral expenses ceiling was exceeded; 2. All of the campaign leaders and, of course, Samper, were involved in these facts one way or another and to a greater or lesser extent; 3. The main strategy was to "cover up" for the scandal so as not to interfere with the government's operation; 4. The first priority was to save Samper at all costs.

In these meetings all kinds of strategies to overcome the crisis were discussed. 1. To find ways to remove Prosecutor General Alfonso Valdivieso from his position in the various actions considered at the Council of State and the Supreme Court of Justice; 2. To remove Deputy Prosecutor General Adolfo Salamanca Correa by two means: Directly pressuring Prosecutor Valdivieso and supporting the Prosecutor General's Office's investigation on commissioner Iglesias's case; 3. To study a legal full stop formula for all trials related to the illegal financing of electoral campaigns; 4. To challenge the Prosecutor General and Deputy Prosecutor General; 5. To use future bids to influence the media one way or another to affect the coverage of the so-called Case 8000; 6. To try to hamper the normal and regular course of the proceedings at the Accusations Committee by offering bureaucratic or contracting privileges to some or all of the Committee's members; 7. To try to undermine in all possible ways, by using the government's official apparatus and security agencies, the reliability, honesty, and prestige of any person who could testify against the Samper administration's interests; 8. To use the government's official apparatus to intimidate all persons who could eventually testify against the government's inter-

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ests; 9. To seek political agreements to find solutions for the institutional crisis without going through the administration of justice's regular proceedings."

1.2.2.5 Position Regarding Drug Trafficking

According to this closest associate of the candidate and president, between 20 July and 7 August 1994 and from the government itself "a gigantic cover-up operation, directly involving the president of the Republic and his closest government team, took place" calling attention to "Samper's decision to postpone, again and again, the offensive against the Cali cartel, always on the grounds of 'the Cali cartel capos' prompt surrender to justice.' Samper gave me direct instructions saying a full-scale offensive against the Cali cartel should not be carried out because of the risk of a new 'narco-war' or a new wave of 'narcoterrorism' in the country." Botero underlined "the appropriate comments regarding a possible secret agreement or pact that could have been reached between candidate Samper and the Cali cartel's top command during the campaign's final stretch, which could explain the hesitation and contradictions in Samper's counterdrug policy in the first six months of his term."

He then mentions "Samper's frequent and direct efforts to hamper operations against the Cali cartel until the international opinion pressured this strategy for the government's very survival." Later, he alluded to an exchange of messages between Samper and the cartel capos.

"...I reminded Samper of a letter that he had addressed to U.S. Congress leaders in July 1994 in his capacity as president-elect. In the letter, Samper made a commitment to put the Cali cartel capos behind bars. He replied to me that this letter had been a trick of Gabriel Silva, then Colombian ambassador to Washington, and that he did believe that eradication could give us time in the Cali front until 'a delivery I know is on its way, arrives.' I told Samper that the Cali issue could not be delayed any further because too many doubts had already been aroused in the country's topmost media levels on the subject, as well as too much impatience and even uncertainty among the Americans. I remember Samper's reply as if it were yesterday: 'Well, we must pretend. What else can we do?' I told him that the situation had turned untenable and that you could deceive many people but that the only ones you could never deceive were the Americans, first, because they realize the truth in seconds, and second, because this is something they will never forgive. The conversation ended right there but I remember it impressed me deeply. I could not believe President Samper could think seriously about the possibility of deceiving the Americans, who are much more aware of the small details of the national life than ourselves, and whose intelligence services in Colombia are better by far than the local intelligence, at least in many aspects, and of course I say this without trying to demean..."

1.1.3 Supporting Evidence

In addition to being coherent, BOTERO's testimony coincides with several pieces of evidence, some of which the Chamber of Representatives' Accusations Committee already has. In order to stress their importance, we refer to the main ones:

1.1.3.1 ANDRES ENRIQUE TALERO's Testimony

In his deposition before the Prosecutor General's Office ANDRES ENRIQUE TALERO referred to facts mentioned by SANTIAGO MEDINA. Although his testimony is one of those known as "hearsay" ["de oidas"] the truth is that all the aspects mentioned were fully confirmed during the course of the investigation. Statements such as "...and among the many things SANTIAGO said, I particularly remember that by the end of the first phase of the campaign, the funds invested had already surpassed the limit authorized by the electoral law and consequently the second phase was financed with funds that were not registered in the books that were presented," were consonant with the versions given by JUAN MANUEL AVELLA PALACIO, who declared under oath, as well as by SANTIAGO MEDINA himself, and finally by FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA.

In MEDINA's statement to TALERO by the end of February 1995 during a dinner held in MEDINA's residence, he found support in the evidence presented during the investigation carried out by the Prosecutor General's Office.

1.1.3.2 SANTIAGO MEDINA's Version

The treasurer of the "SAMPER FOR PRESIDENT" campaign voiced his willingness to cooperate with justice. To this effect, he admitted having held talks with the RODRIGUEZ OREJUELA Brothers and with other members of the so-called "CALI CARTEL" by instructions of ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO and FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA.

According to Medina, such talks revolved around the amount and way in which the well-known drug traffickers would deliver money to finance the "SAMPER FOR PRESIDENT" campaign. SANTIAGO MEDINA explained in detail the way he received large sums of cash from the so-called "CALI CARTEL" to be distributed in keeping with orders issued by top campaign leaders. The treasurer backed up his statements with a large number of documents that are kept in the files of

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the Accusations Committee of the Chamber of Representatives and that were previously delivered to it by the Prosecutor General's Office.

1.1.3.3 JUAN MANUEL AVELLA's Version

When the campaign administrative manager was asked: "Under oath, tell us whether the "SAMPER FOR PRESIDENT" campaign spent over 2 BILLION PESOS by the end of the first electoral round," he replied: "Yes, that is correct, it had already spent over 2 BILLION PESOS, I reaffirm to the Prosecutor General's Office that by the end of May we were very close to reaching the legal ceiling of 4 BILLION PESOS that the National Electoral Council established."

As for the campaign's financial situation at the start of the second electoral round, AVELLA admitted: "we were facing a precarious situation because the first round had generated many expenditures and I would say that by the start of the second round we were very close to reaching the allowed expenditure ceilings..."

1.1.3.4 MAURICIO MONTEJO SALGAR's Version

MAURICIO MONTEJO SALGAR gave an account on how the campaign paid him cash (190 million pesos) for publicity services through ALBERTO GIRALDO and one of the MURCILLO brothers.

He added that campaign Administrative Director JUAN MANUEL AVELLA introduced ALBERTO GIRALDO as a ranking official of a petroleum company, reportedly the BRITISH PETROLEUM COMPANY, to hide from MAURICIO MONTEJO the true origin of the money used to pay the debt.

1.1.3.5 Declaration by GUILLERMO ALEJANDRO PALLOMARI GONZALEZ

Admitted having been an employee of the RODRIGUEZ OREJUELAS and assured that MIGUEL ANGEL RODRIGUEZ OREJUELA ordered him to open checking accounts to finance the presidential campaign of ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO.

Although extensive records of the PALLOMARI investigation are already in files of the Accusations Committee, it is important to textually cite certain portions of it: "WHEN ASKED Do you know what is Export Cafe, Inc.?" HE ANSWERED: "Yes, it is the name of a checking account that Mr. Miguel Rodriguez ordered opened from which to draw money for the presidential campaign of Ernesto Samper and for the Senate, because both elections were held at about the same time."

PALLOMARI's statement concurs with that of other witnesses in the way that cartel funds were channeled to the campaign. "WHEN ASKED: "How was the money from a checking account named Export Cafe, Inc. drawn?" HE ANSWERED: "As for the presidential campaign of Ernesto Samper, the funds were drawn in cash because the day before Mr. Miguel Rodriguez Orejuela asked the bank to produce 500 million pesos in 10,000 peso bills, and checks were drawn in the name of Eduardo Gutierrez; two for 200 million pesos and one for 100 million pesos, that is, three checks for 500 million pesos. Mr. Jesus Zapata, alias Mateo, went to the bank accompanied by bodyguards, withdrew the cash in bags [tulas] facilitated by the bank, and tipped bank personnel that cashed the checks. The money was taken to facilities housing Mr. Miguel Rodriguez and was packed in boxes that were gift-wrapped. I personally participated in the packing process. Once this was completed Mr. Jesus Zapata transferred the boxes to a plane belonging to Mr. Helmer Herrera or Pacho Herrera or to Mr. Jose Estrada Ramirez. These planes were kept at a farm owned by Mr. Herrera in Jamundi. When the money was transported in Mr. Herrera's planes, the pilot was a man known as Benitin, I do not know his full name. Mr. Tulio Murcillo, brother of Julian Murcillo, awaited for the boxes inside the plane. The money was taken from Cali to Santa fe de Bogota, where Mr. ALBERTO GIRALDO received it. Once Alberto Giraldo got hold of the money he got in touch with Mr. Miguel Rodriguez to report that everything had turned out well..."

This affirmation is also backed up by the public incorporation deed for Export Cafe Ltd, that shows JAIME ANTONIO ALVAREZ GAVIRIA and the aforementioned EDUARDO GUTIERREZ as the sides conferring powers, as well as checks No. 3288947 for 200 million, 3288948 for 100 million pesos, 3284942 for 200 billion pesos, 3284943 for $200 million, and 3284944 for 100 million pesos drawn and cashed in a bank teller's window from 8 to 10 June of 1994, among others. This documentary compilation is part of ANNEX No. 2.

1.2 EXPANSION OF THE QUESTIONING OF SANTIAGO MEDINA SERNA

1.2.1 Background

SANTIAGO MEDINA SERNA was implicated in the investigation No. 25386 made by the Regional Office of the Prosecutor and he is subject to preventive custody for the offense of illicit enrichment, which was replaced by house arrest based on Articles 369A and subparagraphs of the CPP. He was first questioned on 27 and 28 July of 1995 and expanded his testimony on 12 September and 26 January and 1 February 1996. An authentic copy of this new expansion is in ANNEX No. 3.

1.2.2 SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

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Medina said: "Regarding the decision to obtain these monies, I ratify what I have said in my deposition wherein I mentioned on several occasions that Mr. ALBERTO GIRALDO was the first person to offer us these moneys, an offer that I relayed to Dr. SAMPER and Dr. BOTERO. Afterward, due to the need for funds, Dr. BOTERO authorized that I go to Cali together with ALBERTO GIRALDO, with the express authorization of ERNESTO SAMPER. I personally verified that authorization with candidate SAMPER and also told him what transpired after each of my trips. Regarding the actual physical receipt of Cali cartel cash, he did not receive it. They, the Cali cartel, had it delivered to my home the way I described previously. WHEN ASKED: Explain the document that you referred to as "the smallest but most expensive BOTERO." Do you know who drafted it, how, where, and by whom was it drafted? HE ANSWERED: Mr. EDUARDO MESTRE requested Dr. BOTERO ZEA to write on a piece of paper the way the moneys offered by the Cali Cartel should be distributed. This small document was drafted by Dr. BOTERO ZEA in handwriting in his office on a small piece of paper with the campaign logo, in front of EDUARDO MESTRE and myself. It was given to EDUARDO MESTRE to send to Cali. It is a small piece of paper with the campaign logo. It has printed "FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA. NATIONAL DIRECTOR" on the top and bottom.

These events took place about one or two weeks prior to the runoff elections. I remember four or five names with the respective amounts assigned, including EDUARDO MESTRE, KILO BECERRA, S. MEDINA, etc." [end quotation mark as published]

Likewise, when asked which of the people who received it, handled it, credited the money, knew of its origin, he said: "At first, none of them, but after the narco-cassettes were released logically most of the people realized. At first we spread the story that these were moneys from oil companies that had made donations in cash to avoid a record."

## 1.3 PERSON WITH SECRET IDENTITY'S AFFIDAVIT

### 1.3.1 Background

A person declared under oath before the commission of prosecutors carrying out investigation No. 25386. Because of direct knowledge of facts that are relevant to the case, the person requested in accordance to current law, that his identity be kept secret. This was agreed and the declaration taken by the Commission of Prosecutors on 3 February 1996. Authenticated copy is part of ANNEX No. 4.

### 1.3.2 Summary of contents

The person declaring under secret identity states: "By the end of the first round the ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA was in deficit, we could not get any more donations or anyone to finance it, and we were practically at the limit. Publicity soaked-up about 70 percent of the resources and to top it off we owed money. In addition, we owed suppliers. Suddenly, cash money began to enter in June and no book-keeping entry was made..."

## 1.4 SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

Even though the witness affirmed in her first declaration that she did not know the origin of the campaign donations, she never saw cash being handled, did not recall writing receipts for donations, did not recall meetings with the treasurers to get them to collect donations, did not recall remittances to the regional treasuries, and denied having handled monies, when she went to continue her declaration she stated in her first reply: "Mr. Prosecutor, with all due respect I want to tell you that I am aware that I am under oath. I want to tell you this is painful. I want to tell you that I have never been in such a situation. I want to underscore that last time I was very nervous, just as I am now, but I am going to tell you what I know with all honesty and sincerity. After the declaration on 26 January I have given much thought, I have recalled, I have cleared my mind, I have looked for documentation, and I have found a list of department treasurers, which I will show you if I may (for the record she takes the list out of her handbag). You, Mr. Prosecutor can easily see that the department treasurers were not just anyone. For obvious reasons access was granted through Dr. SERPA or Dr. SANTIAGO MEDINA, not me, because I did not make any decision. It seems to me that this needs to be made clear, I want to expand on this. When I look at this list I recall that Dr. GUILLERMO VILLAVECES, an extraordinary man handled the Santa Fe de Bogota treasury. I remember that Dr. MEDINA on one of those days prior to the elections told me to deliver a small yellow envelope with funds, which I gave Dr. VILLAVECES as soon as he arrived. Here are names of people such Dr. GUILLERMO ARAGON from Tolima, Dr. ANIBAL ROA, I also remember that I delivered a package to Dr. BELEN SANCHEZ from Quindio while Dr. MEDINA was in the office with lots of people around. Dr. MEDINA told me, please PATRICIA, hand this to BELEN who is outside. Here are other people such as Dr. HELY CALA LOPEZ from Casanare, who I myself attended. I gave all these people listed my best cooperation, you can verify this."

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Then PINEDA DE CASTRO explained that after the first elections round, treasurer offices began to have needs and Medina began to double his efforts to secure resources. Not too many days passed by before Medina reported that "BI PI," an acronym that undoubtedly stands for BRITISH PETROLEUM COMPANY, had given a significant donation in cash. This is the multinational that JUAN MANUEL AVELLA meant to mention as donor when he alluded to ALBERTO GIRALDO as an important official of a petroleum enterprise that was paying for the publicity debts of Mauricio Montejo Salgar.

1.5 DECLARATION BY REGIONAL TREASURERS

Regional treasurers of the campaign have made statements in the framework of case No.2385, handled by the prosecutor's units at the Supreme Court of Justice; and case 25386, handled by the Commission of Prosecutors [Comision de Fiscales]. Copies of these statements are included in ANNEX No. 6. These statements gain importance because they acknowledge the arrival of significant amounts of money for the second elections round.

1.5.1 Declaration by EDGARDO SALES

The person designated to coordinate the logistics of the campaign in Barranquilla for the second round of elections, stated: "Yes, I received money to accomplish the mentioned objective. I received 100 million pesos in cash at the campaign headquarters of Dr. ARMANDO BENEDETTI and Dr. RODOLFO ZAMBRANO and I deposited this amount in my personal account at National Savings and Housing Corporation [Conavi]." He then transferred this amount to his assistant's account, "I believe that in two allotments, one for 70 million and the other for 30 million pesos, as expenditure needs arose. This took place in a matter of three days because if you remember all this took place in the campaign's last week, before the elections."

This statement is backed by an authentic copy of a 100 million pesos deposit that establishes that the money was deposited in that account on 11 June 1994. This is included in ANNEX No. 6.

1.5.2 Declaration by ALBERTO GUILLERMO VILLAVECES MEDINA

He functioned as treasurer of the SAMPER PRESIDENT campaign in Santa Fe de Bogota during the first and second presidential elections rounds. He said he received a transfer of funds that were deposited in the Credit Bank at an account opened in his name that had the notation MODERN COLOMBIA FOUNDATION. The deposit was made through a check for approximately 45 million pesos, made available to him by the campaign. The acquired obligation was covered at the end of June when payments were made and a cashier's check from the Bank of Credits was issued to MODERN CORPORATION. For the second elections round, VILLAVECES MEDINA received a cash deposit for 40 million pesos, an amount that was delivered at the General Treasury headquarters, on 72d Street, inside a "regular and ordinary paper bag," on a week day at approximately 1830.

Initially VILLAVECES MEDINA said without hesitating that the bag was given to him directly by SANTIAGO MEDINA, but later said he believes it was Mrs. PATRICIA DE CASTRO who delivered the bag and told him that this cash donation had just been received. He then signed the receipt and two or three days later delivered the money to Dr. ALBERTO VILLAMIZAR, the general electoral coordinator.

1.5.3 Declaration by BELEN SANCHEZ CACERES

The current governor of Quindio was treasurer of the presidential campaign in Quindio Department during the first and second elections rounds. She said that during the first elections round, expenditures amounted to 40 million pesos, an amount deposited by the SAMPER PRESIDENT campaign in an account open in her name and/or, MODERN COLOMBIA FOUNDATION. PATRICIA CASTRO told her to use that money to pay for logistic support, publicity, transportation, food, and cultural activities, among others. For the second round, expenditures climbed to 50 million pesos, an amount she received from the general treasurer of the campaign in the form of a check for 47.5 million and 2.5 million pesos in cash." This happened "four or five days before the elections and the money was not deposited in the account. All the treasurers from throughout the country were called to Santa Fe de Bogota to receive the money... Since the elections were only four or five days away, all the treasurers were there. That floor was full of people. I asked Dr. PATRICIA CASTRO if these resources were to be invested the same way as in the first round, that is, on logistic support for the campaign and on elections day and she answered: Like in the first round."

CASTRO told SANCHEZ that the check was already endorsed by the woman to whom it had been made to, whose name SANCHEZ could not remember, and that she could cash it. After receiving the resource, she delivered it to NUMAEL LONDONO, president of the campaign's Departmental Board [Junta Departmental].

1.5.4 Declaration by FRANCISCO JOHN GOMEZ RESTREPO

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The treasurer of the presidential campaign in Antioquia reports that during the second round he informed SANTIAGO MEDINA of the impossibility of obtaining in Medellin donations to finance the campaign and of the need to secure resources from the central headquarters. The second round cost the department 427,539,301 pesos. On 16 June 1994, GOMEZ received from Santa Fe de Bogota a 200-million-pesos check that was to be deposited in the account MODERN COLOMBIA ASSOCIATION ERNESTO SAMPER CAMPAIGN ANTIOQUIA opened in El Poblado branch of the Cafetero Bank. The check number, the issuing bank, and other information appears in the itemization GOMEZ delivered to the Prosecutor General's Office. GOMEZ added that very probably he received the check from Dr. SILVIO MEJIA, the campaign's political coordinator.

1.6 Declaration by SILVIO MEJIA DUQUE

1.6.1 Background

MEJIA was coordinator of the SAMPER PRESIDENT campaign in Antioquia Department. ANNEX No. 7 is composed of an authentic copy of his statement.

1.6.2 Summary of Content

Mejia reports that he traveled to Santa Fe de Bogota during the second elections round and met with FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA to whom he explained the financial difficulties that the political groups had in the region. To this Botero responded that the total amount that would be allotted to them had not been secured yet and it was necessary for them to secure donations from Antioquia businessmen. In view of their insisting, due to the lack of time, BOTERO called for SANTIAGO MEDINA and authorized him to immediately send the money ANTIOQUIA needed. Then SANTIAGO MEDINA arranged to give MEJIA 200 million pesos in cash, but when MEJIA DUQUE refused to transport that kind of money, he was given two checks for 100 million pesos each in the name of JOHN GOMEZ, regional treasurer.

1.7 TECHNICAL REPORT

1.7.1 Background

Judicial investigator 4800 with the National Directorate of the Technical Investigation Body of the Prosecutor General's Office, presented a report concerning the findings of checking account No. 028-16391-3 of the state bank in this city, against which checks No. 2447 and 2448 were drawn in the name of JOHN GOMEZ, Regional Treasurer of the presidential campaign in the Department of Antioquia. SILVIO MEJIA received said valuables from SANTIAGO MEDINA after he refused to receive cash; they are dated 15 June 1994 and each totals 100 million pesos (100,000,000 pesos). An authentic copy of this report is included in ANNEX No. 8.

1.7.2 SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

The following information was obtained: The documents in the folder of the aforementioned checking account show that the holder is Mr. HECTOR FABIO LOPEZ AULESTIA, with personal identity card No. 14,881,035, from Buga, Valle Department, engineer, owner of INCOLE LTDA. enterprise, with residence on 10th Street No. 96-25, telephone 610-0669, with commercial address on 11th Streets No. 82-23, telephones 610-0647 and 612-3600. It was confirmed that these addresses, in addition to the fact they do not match the aforementioned telephone numbers, correspond to enterprises with different firm names. Additionally, it was confirmed, through the corresponding documentary evidence, that cash and check deposits were made in checking accounts no. 01403756-8 Bank No. 23, No. 07302680-9 Bank No. 06, No. 230-15701-8 Bank No. 13, the latter corresponding to Banco Ganadero, Branch located on Las Americas Avenue, in the city of Cali, with JAIRO APARICIO LENIS as holder. JAIRO APARICIO is the direct beneficiary or the last endorser of checks drawn against several checking accounts in which the holders are front companies or individuals whose names and documents were used in a fraudulent manner by MIGUEL ANGEL and GILBERTO RODRIGUEZ OREJUELA to conduct different transactions. This was evidenced in criminal investigations numbers 24249 and 25902, where government attorneys prepared a database corresponding to the extract attached at the end of Annex No. 8. In the aforementioned records, the aforementioned APARICIO appears as beneficiary or endorser of valuables drawn, among other things, against the checking accounts of EXPORT CAFE LTDA., JAVIER DE JESUS ZAPATA, ROBINSON PINEDA, JORGE CASTILLO, and DISTRIBUIDORA EL DIAMANTE, over which MIGUEL RODRIGUEZ OREJUELA exercised direct control, according to several pieces of evidence concerning this investigation.

1.8 EXPERT TESTIMONY

1.8.1 Background

Based on the documents the administrative director and the campaign treasurer presented as well as other documents, the Prosecutors Commission decided, in case No. 25,386, to conduct an accounting investigation to determine the amount of revenues and outlays from the SAMPER PRESIDENT campaign. The ruling appears as Annex No. 9 and its conclusions are presented as follows.

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1.8.2 Contents

"The analysis preceding the conclusions includes expressions such as: -officially charged moneys, - official records, - income officially recorded, - expenses officially recorded; they refer to the figures included in accounting backup documents prepared in accordance with the legal requirements to establish official accounting records. To name a few, we have invoices, income and expense vouchers, bank notes (paragraph V of the report). There are other expressions such as: -unofficial accounting records, - unaccounted payments, -unrecorded documents, -officially unaccounted for, -not presented officially, -unofficial recorded income, - expense without official record; they involve figures included in some document which do not meet the accounting backup characteristics required by law and they are intended to conceal economic transactions (paragraph V of the report).

"1. REVENUES AND EXPENSES

"In determining the transactions that correspond to the concept of revenues and expenditures, considerations on the matter, mentioned in Articles 20 and 21 of Law 130 of 1994, were employed.

"The analysis that was conducted has made it possible to know the revenues as well as the expenditures of the ASOCIACION COLOMBIANA MODERNA in two aspects: REVENUES and EXPENDITURES presented with backing documents and official accounting and those without them.

**"Chart No. 15 presents the revenues and expenditures of the ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA as a whole:**

| | Pesos |
|---|---|
| REVENUES OFFICIALLY REGISTERED | 9,200,152,714 |
| REVENUES NOT OFFICIALLY REGISTERED | 2,146,566,740 |
| TOTAL REVENUES (RESOURCES) | 11,346,719,454 |
| EXPENDITURES OFFICIALLY REGISTERED | 9,572,456,684 |
| EXPENDITURES NOT OFFICIALLY REGISTERED | 4,962,108,109 |
| TOTAL SPENDING (EXPENDITURES) | 14,534,564,793 |
| OVERSPENDING (unjustified spending) | 3,187,845,399 |

"The overspending (or unjustified spending) means that ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA generated expenditures above its revenues of 3,187,339.00 pesos for the use of money of unknown origin.

"2. REGIONAL TREASURY OFFICES

"The ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA allocated to its regional treasury offices the sum of 5,373,270,099 pesos but 3,320,270,099 pesos of this amount were not included in the official accounting (numeral III.1 of the report)

"The regional treasury offices did not authenticate contributions (money) totaling 4,424,544,351 pesos in the amounts that are mentioned by each treasury office in Chart No. 9 of the report.

"3. LOANS

"The loans granted by ORGANIZACION LUIS CARLOS SARMIENTO ANGULO and FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA, for 7 million pesos and 339.8994 million pesos, respectively, represent the current liabilities of the ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA.

"As for those loans, the veracity of these loans and the origin of the money is not clear for several reasons: contrary to what is customary in these kind of operations and in view of the high amount involved, no guarantee was established from Mr. FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA, and specifically in checks 1707201, 1707202, 1707303, for 25.2 million pesos each drawn from the same account, and the treasury explanation lists them as contributions from Mr. ARDILE LULLE. Mr. FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA introduced the income vouchers as loans to the ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA. In addition, the checks were drawn in the names of other persons (numeral V.2.2).

"4. BOOKS AND ACCOUNTING

"The ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA has incurred accounting irregularities; the successive nullification of the folios of its accounting books without filling in the necessary requirements (Article 132 DR [expansion unknown] 2649/93) and the failure to register all the economic operations in the accounting books (numeral VI of the report). One can say that the information ASOCIACION COLOMBIA MODERNA provided in its accounting books is in no way reliable and that its operations were carried out with a double accounting system. Therefore, it does not reflect the reality of its economic situation."

2. CONSIDERATIONS

2.1 Major sums of money of illicit origin helped finance the electoral campaign of ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO in 1994.

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The ongoing investigations within the purview of the Office of the Prosecutor General tend to establish the modes of involvement and, therefore, the responsibility of the different participants. On account of those conducts, regardless of the evaluation that must be made on each case, several persons are currently deprived of their freedom, including the national manager, administrative manager, and the treasurer of the campaign that took ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO to the Presidency.

Statements by the person who, because of the post he held in the campaign, was in a privileged position to learn its intimate details, who was the first defense minister of the current government, and who was repeatedly praised by the president and his interior minister for his integrity, must merit the attention of the Honorable Chamber of Representatives.

Although it is evident that the accounts by SANTIAGO MEDINA and FERNANDO BOTERO ZEA contain contradictory elements with regard to the latter's responsibility, a matter of utmost importance that the Office of the Prosecutor General must resolve opportunely because it falls within its purview, the fact is that one and the other concur in pointing to then candidate ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO as the promoter and the person who was aware of the way his campaign was financed.

Considering that the economic factor is one of the main problems the campaign faced at the start of the second round, it will be up to this Office to investigate whether it stands to reason that the main protagonist, the candidate, could have been uninvolved in resolving this sore financial point and unaware of the transformation his campaign experienced, as it went from a distressing deficit to a situation of solvency.

2.2 The presentation of the documents that the National Electoral Council used as the grounds for the administrative order that confirmed the accounts and refunded the campaign money was made with an evident alteration of the truth contained in the private documents, something that was accomplished by destroying, suppressing, or concealing the proofs of the amounts that truly went into campaign and were not registered in the accounting, so as to induce the Public Administration into making an error and ordering the money refund. Everything indicates, therefore, that there was an embezzlement of public funds.

2.3 The events described in paragraph 1.1.2.4, dealing with the possible attempt to conceal the truth and obstruct the action of justice, are hereby reported to the Honorable Chamber, given their importance as evidence and, also, given the authority of the Congress of the Republic to investigate possible acts of indignity.

2.4 Meanwhile, it has been learned, from statements made public, that the Criminal Chamber of the Supreme Court of Justice has evidence of great importance, derived from its own scrutiny, which may contribute to clarify the events described in this document, which, if they have not been yet forwarded to the Honorable Commission, must be requested.

3. CONCLUSION

The new evidence that is attached, examined in accordance with the rules of healthy criticism applicable to testimonies, documents, and expert testimony, and reconciled with the existing documentation, with enough evidence, confirm the entry of moneys from criminal activities into the presidential campaign of ERNESTO SAMPER PIZANO, offenses against the state regarding accounting procedures, excess over the maximum legal for financing political parties, fraud against electoral laws, unlawful use of state resources, and maneuvers aimed at covering up these events, conducts which seriously compromise the responsibility of the then candidate and current president of the Republic.

Cordially,

[Signed] ALFONSO VALDIVIESO SARMIENTO

Prosecutor General of the Nation

## Ecuador

### Ecuador: Duran-Ballen Urges Unity in Talks With Peru

*PY2702232996 Madrid EFE in Spanish*
*1947 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Quito, 27 Feb (EFE) — Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen today called for the unity of all his fellow citizens to handle the border negotiations with Peru, a country with which it disputes an area lacking border markers in their common Amazon border region.

During the celebration of the Day of the Army, Duran-Ballen said: "Let us recall that exactly a year ago, on achieving the unity of the entire nation, we did not take a single step backward. Today we hope that based on that unity and on the common effort of all, we will together take steps forward."

"This is the time to build peace together," Duran-Ballen said, while Ecuador and Peru are preparing to directly negotiate their historical border problems which led them to wage at least three wars over the past half century.

Moreover, General Jorge Ortega, chief of the Armed Forces Joint Command, joined the president's call and

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called for "unity to strengthen and support the objective of peace, which is the greatest challenge imposed by history" on this nation.

Duran-Ballen and Ortega made these remarks at a military ceremony during which General Paco Moncayo, the commander in chief of the Army, and Gen. Ortega himself were promoted to generals of the Ecuadoran Army, the highest rank within the local military system.

Duran-Ballen also made these remarks in the wake of the Ecuadoran and Peruvian governments' decision to hand over to the guarantor countries (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and the United States) the lists of their "prevailing impasses" in the local Amazon region.

These lists will be handed over to the parties in conflict following verification by the Ecuador-Peru Mission of Military Observers (MOMEP) that there are only 60 soldiers at the Peruvian Watch Post 2 (PV2).

**Ecuador: Duran-Ballen, Ortega Give Speeches on Army Day**

*PY2802012696 Quito Voz de Los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen has said that recognizing the infeasibility of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol is a definitive step toward solving the border conflict with Peru. Duran-Ballen made this statement during a speech delivered at the Eloy Alfaro Military Academy on the occasion of the celebration today of Ecuadoran Army Day.

[Begin recording] My fellow citizens: I must tell you that our decision to recognize the enforcement and infeasibility of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol, and of calling for the compulsory participation and assistance of the guarantor countries, was the factor that helped Ecuador and Peru find, after half a century, the path that today will lead them to dialogue and negotiation.

The moment we are living through today is unprecedented. The point the governments of Ecuador and Peru have reached must be taken as a historical, well founded, and final step. We are certain that we are walking the right path. The handing over of the lists of prevailing impasses will create the essential scenario and will provide the essential elements for the two countries to develop and be successful in their talks.

Our intention and our desire must consolidate a process which seeks a solution to the conflict. This is our aspiration, and this is our hope. [end recording]

This is the first speech delivered by the Ecuadoran president after the foreign ministers of Ecuador and Peru, Leoro Franco and Francisco Tudela, handed over to the guarantor countries of the Rio de Janeiro Protocol their lists of disagreements with regard to the border conflict.

Moreover, General Jorge Ortega also delivered a speech on Ecuadoran Army Day, and said that the Armed Forces will be alert so that the peace process between Ecuador and Peru will be as clean as possible.

[Begin Ortega recording] With this testimony, with this promise, we hope the Armed Forces will fulfill their objective of increasingly dignifying their mission of protecting and defending our territorial integrity, together with all the Ecuadoran people, observing the importance and cleanliness of the negotiations process with the neighboring country, in the quest for a just, dignified, and permanent peace. [end recording]

Gen. Ortega said that the Ecuadoran Armed Forces continue and will continue their mission of defending the national territory.

**Ecuador: Foreign Minister on Value of Meeting With Peru**

*PY2802014996 Quito Voz de Los Andes in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Ecuadoran Foreign Minister Galo Leoro Franco has said that the forthcoming meeting of the commanders in chief of the Peruvian and Ecuadoran Armed Forces is a subject of interest concerning the normalization of relations between the two countries.

[Begin recording] It is a subject of interest in the peace process and in the normalization of relations. I think it will be very useful because all these meetings will lead to a better understanding between Ecuador and Peru. [end recording]

Leoro Franco said that all these meetings lead to a better understanding between the two Andean nations, and for this reason we must stress the importance of these meetings, which will be held on 1 March in Quito and on 4 March in Lima, Peru.

Moreover, Ecuadoran Deputy Foreign Minister Marcelo Fernandez de Cordova has said that both the Ecuadoran and Peruvian prevailing impasses are totally different, and for this reason the negotiations must try to find a consensus or a final agreement. He said that the two countries' positions are different and not publicly known. If the positions held were the same, a negotiations process would not be necessary, he said.

Fernandez de Cordova recalled that to date Peru has not accepted learning about the Ecuadoran position, but with the agreement reached at the meetings between the

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Ecuadoran and Peruvian foreign ministers in Quito, our position will have to be known within the framework of the negotiations.

He added that the lists of impasses submitted by the two countries will be known within the next few days and will serve as a basis for the negotiations regarding clause number six of the Itamaraty [Brazilian Foreign Ministry headquarters] Declaration.

Fernandez de Cordova added that the Ecuadoran and Peruvian positions are based on the demarcation or delimitation of the border that must be established, and that a reconciliation must be achieved. The two countries must show sufficient flexibility to reach a just and honorable solution and achieve a long-standing peace, the deputy foreign minister said.

**Ecuador: Moncayo, Ortega Promoted To Top Military Rank**

*PY2702184796 Quito Voz de Los Andes in Spanish 1700 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Army Commander Paco Moncayo and Jorge Ortega, chief of the Armed Forces joint command, have been promoted to the rank of general of the Ecuadoran Army. This is the highest rank in the Ecuadoran military system.

The generals were promoted during a ceremony to celebrate the day of the Ecuadoran Army that was attended by high-ranking diplomatic and military authorities.

Moncayo is considered one of the most important members of the Ecuadoran Army. He reasserted the role he plays within the Army with his participation as chief of the theater of land operations during the war waged by Ecuador and Peru between 26 January and 28 February 1995.

## Uruguay

**Uruguay: 'Concern' Over Cuba's Downing of Planes**

*PY2802001196 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2323 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Montevideo, 27 Feb (EFE) — The Uruguayan Government today expressed its concern over the downing of two U.S. civilian planes by Cuban MiG-26 fighters on 24 February.

An Uruguayan Foreign Ministry communique points out the "lack of proportion in the military response vis-a-vis the alleged violation of national air space by civilian planes."

The Uruguayan Government expressed regret "not only over the loss of human lives, but over the probable negative repercussions" of the Cuban action "at the international level."

**Uruguay: Nicaraguan Minister Seeks Advice on Health Reform**

*PY2702172896 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1825 GMT 26 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Montevideo, 26 Feb (EFE) — Nicaraguan Health Minister Federico Munoz Fernandez met today with his Uruguayan counterpart Alfredo Solari in Montevideo within the framework of a visit to obtain information and advice on the reform of the health system that Nicaragua is about to undertake.

Following the meeting, the Nicaraguan health minister stated that the Nicaraguan Government can learn a lot from Uruguay's expertise in hospital management and decentralization.

Munoz Fernandez pointed out that the economic crisis is hindering the progress of public health programs in many Latin American nations and that on account of this, one must make the most of the scarce available financial resources.

The Nicaraguan minister said: "We believe that in times of crisis, it is important for countries like Nicaragua to learn from other countries' experience so that measures can be adopted to allocate financial resources in a more agile, flexible, and appropriate way."

Munoz Fernandez arrived in Montevideo on 25 February and is to return home on 29 February. Tomorrow, he is scheduled to visit several public hospitals.

## Venezuela

**Venezuela: Communique on U.S.-Cuban Incident Issued**

*PA2702201696 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1725 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Caracas, 27 Feb (EFE) — The Venezuelan Government today deplored the death of four people in an incident on 24 February between Cuban and U.S. planes and stated it is "following developments concerning the case with great interest."

The Venezuelan Foreign Ministry issued a communique expressing the Venezuelan Government's "concern" over "the incident that took place in the airspace separating Cuba from the United States."

The note says the conflict "diverts and delays the process of understanding that was developing in the relations between both countries."

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The communique is similar to a statement Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Burelli has made in New York.

Venezuelan authorities have been careful in both cases not to condemn Cuba for the action before learning of clarifying evidence the Cuban Government claims to have.

**Venezuela: 'Thousands' Protest Budget, IMF Negotiations**

*PA2702225096 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1837 GMT 27 Feb 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Caracas, 27 Feb (NOTIMEX) — Thousands of students, professors, and workers from Venezuelan public universities today held a protest march for the "defense of social rights, the budget, and against negotiations with the IMF. [no closing quotation marks as received]

The march began at the square of the rector's office at the Central University of Venezuela (UCV) and proceeded to downtown Caracas, where a commission delivered a list of demands to the Board of Directors of Congress.

Approximately 10,000 people from different public universities of the country participated in the protest, and it was organized by the Federation of Associations of University Professors of Venezuela [Federacion de Asociaciones de Profesores Universitarios de Venezuela — FAPUV].

"Today we are not marching just to demand a bigger budget for the university; we are holding this protest for the social rights of our people, who are starving," student leader Leonardo Molina stated.

Among the demands of university groups are a $26 million government payment of the back debt and a $862 minimum wage for professionals. In addition, they reject the privatization of universities.

They also demand that the government reformulate the minimum wage table for all workers of the country, based on the cost of the family shopping basket, which is about 65,000 bolivares, or $224.

University students and workers also reject the negotiations the government of President Rafael Caldera is holding with the IMF to try to overcome the economic crisis.

The National Coordinating Board of University Federations, in a communique issued during the protest march, warned that if the government does not establish alternatives for the construction of a different country... consequences may be regrettable." [no opening quotation mark as received]

As a preventive measure, authorities reinforced early this Tuesday surveillance in different strategic points of the capital with riot police and Army tanks.

FAPUV President Humberto Mendoza denounced the fact that riot police groups detained approximately 25 buses that came from the interior with students and professors to participate in the march.

"We reject the boycott carried out by authorities to prevent the protest for the social rights of workers," Mendoza noted.

The university demonstration took place the same day as the seventh anniversary of the so-called "Caracazo" of 27 February 1989, which was an urban revolt due to the high cost of living and hikes in transportation costs.

At that time, the urban protest was quelled by Venezuelan military forces, and more than 100 people were killed.

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